

American dreamin'



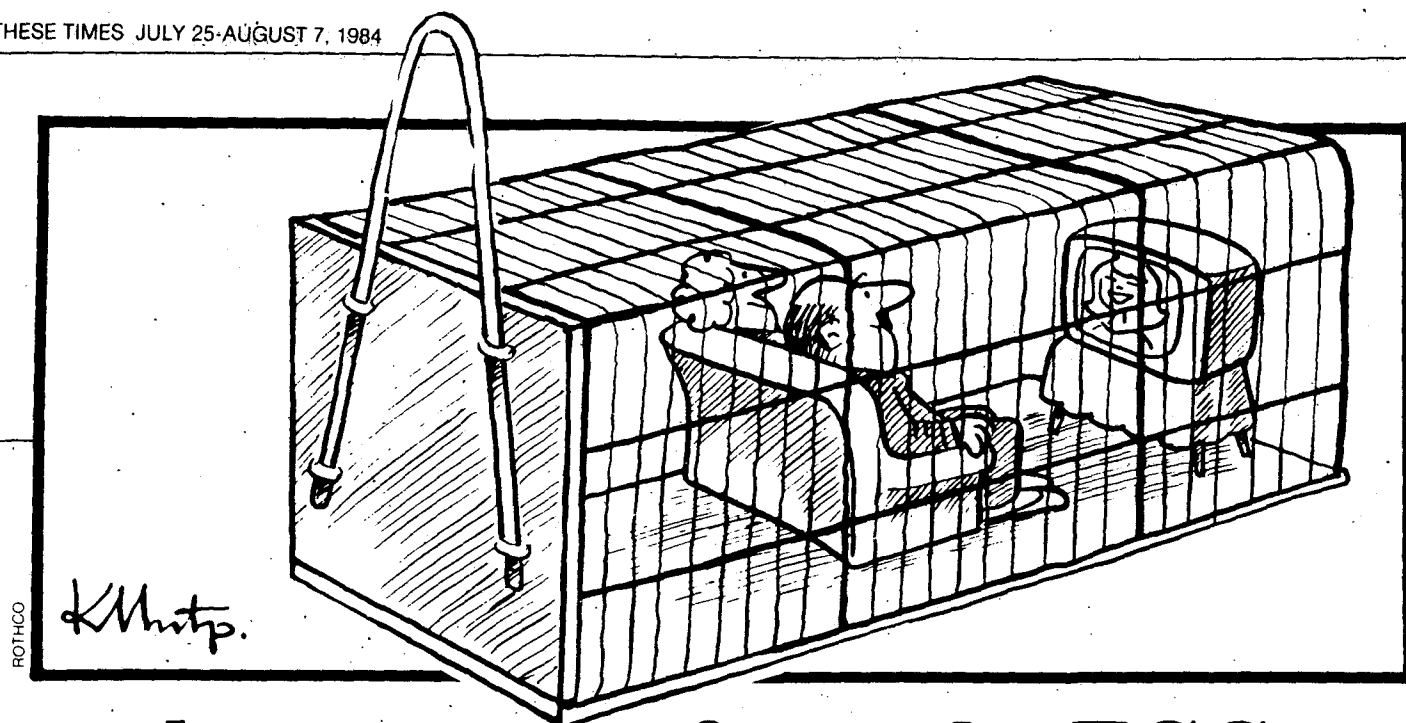
Photograph: STEVE KAGAN

**Democrats grope
for the way to beat Reagan.**



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CONVENTION**



IN THESE TIMES

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Another message from the FCC

By Pat Aufderheide

WASHINGTON

You're struggling to put together a weekend breakfast for the kids when an all-too-familiar jingle comes blaring at you from the living room for the third time that morning. "Is there no limit to how many commercials they'll run on Saturday morning cartoons?" you wonder impatiently. Not any longer. On June 27 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) dramatically cut commercial TV loose from government regulation. Not only did the FCC decide that TV stations can air as many commercials as they like, but it also dropped the requirement that they air a minimum amount of public affairs and information, and even released them from keeping detailed records of their programming. So from now on, TV stations can pretty much air whatever they think sells best.

The FCC is the government agency charged with defending the public interest in broadcasting. But this latest decision makes a lot of people—some of them members of Congress—wonder just what the FCC thinks its job is. If commercial TV no longer has government guidelines to follow, will it make any difference? "Nothing will change," says George F. Schweitzer, vice-president of communication for CBS Broadcast Group. His voice rises in chorus with other executives, who argue that they already do more public affairs than required and that they don't want more commercials because TV would become too "cluttered."

But others believe that the FCC's changes will make a difference. At the public interest law firm Media Access Project, Bob Gruss suggests that public service announcements could become even harder to place since that time can now be filled with commercials. MAP's Andy Schwartzman foresees unique events such as the Superbowl clogged with commercials, with a viewer stuck for alternatives. Many critics, including the Citizen Communications Center's Barbara Shufro, fear that local news will become the first casualty. "Rip and read" syndicated services, if anything, could replace locally produced shows. "I also think we're saying goodbye to programs like black-oriented talk shows and programs for the elderly," she says.

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In any case, critics will have no way to prove their suspicions in a more than anecdotal way since record-keeping has been stripped down by the FCC's latest order. When the FCC deregulated radio in the last days of the Carter administration, the first effect was a wave of firing of local news staffs. But whether news quality or quantity has been affected as a result is conjecture. Then, too, record-keeping went out the window with the regulations.

For FCC Chairman Mark Fowler, a free-market advocate so passionate that his enemies call him "the James Watt of the airwaves," the issue here is the same as it is in other areas of broadcast regulation. "What's really the question here," he says, "is whether the government trusts the common man to make up his own mind about what to watch or not to watch."

But for people like consumer advocate Ralph Nader, the issue is accountability of corporate interests to the American public. And he's said so to Fowler's face. During a commercial break in a cable TV debate on deregulation last May, Fowler challenged Nader to name "one significant issue" that hadn't been covered by radio and TV. "You," Nader replied. "You're wrecking the entire broadcast system. The rights of 220 million are being squelched on behalf of a few corporations."

Producers, who often find the networks are hard to crack, don't all have Fowler's faith that free-market forces will ensure the diversity implied in freedom of expression. At Public Interest Video Network, an organization that helps "issue" groups use video, producer Patrick Esmond-White says, "The commercial

networks have always shown a greater interest in the bottom line than in the public interest. It strains credibility to think that under deregulation they'll suddenly turn around."

David Levy, president of a Los Angeles entertainment production company, also thinks that only regulation can improve TV programming. "When Mr. Fowler looks at Newton Minow's 'vast wasteland,'" he says, "he obviously sees only green pastures. What he cannot distinguish is a pasture of weeds with a few flowers against a pasture of flowers with a few weeds." Levy, along with other producers who have formed a lobbying group, wants to see an hour a day reserved for children's educational programs.

Regulation is needed, argues Sam Simon, head of the Telecommunications Research and Action Center, precisely because commercial TV isn't a classic free market. "The consumer does not have a choice," he says. "In broadcasting, the real consumer is the ad agency and the product is the viewer. We don't have any real impact on what we are offered. Look at children's television." If there is no immediate change in the programming dominated by three large networks, he says, it's because the people in charge grew up under regulation. "The next generation will have a different ethic—the bottom line at any cost."

Until now, the guiding principle of regulation has been what was laid out in the 1934 Communications Act. It argued that because airwaves are a public resource and a scarce one, when the public grants a broadcaster a monopoly on a piece of it, broadcasters owe the public essential information fairly presented. The FCC patrols the broadcasters, although many claim it has, in the words of ex-general counsel to the FCC Henry Geller, "been the captive of the industry over the last half-century."

Still, it took the Reagan era to challenge the root concept of "public trusteeship." Fowler thinks anything other than a simple "traffic cop" role—assigning frequency slots to broadcasters—is a violation of broadcasters' First Amendment rights. He uses words like "censorship" and government "terror" to express the danger he sees. He openly takes the broadcasters' side against First Amendment supporters such as the Rev. Everett Parker, who argues that the First Amendment belongs to the public, not to corporations.

Fowler announced when he came to office that he intended to deregulate commercial TV. But other deregulatory measures have come first, such as the lifting of limitations on how many stations a licensee can own in one region. Soon the FCC intends to lift the limits on how many stations nationwide a network can own. Fowler's FCC has also called for the abolition of the Fairness Doctrine, which requires that broadcasters provide fair coverage of controversial issues of concern to the public.

In short, the FCC is busy changing its own rules, and that effectively rewrites its own mandate. Some Congress members are dismayed that an agency is tampering with its legislated mandate. Rep. John Dingell (D-MI), chair of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, which oversees telecommunications, wants to know "why, when the federal government gives somebody an absolute, unfettered, government-enforced right to exclusively use a particular portion of the electromagnetic spectrum, that he should not be accountable...and why he should be exempt from the use of it in the public interest." Commenting on the recent deregulation, Rep. Timothy Wirth (D-CO), head of the House telecommunications subcommittee, called the order "totally unjustified," ensuring "that the FCC's licensing process will be even more arbitrary and less sensitive to the needs of the public."

There are rumors that, when Congress reconvenes, the question of the FCC's redefinition of its job may come to the floor. *Broadcasting*, a magazine that shares the views of the powerful lobby group National Association of Broadcasters, editorialized on the possibility recently: "This FCC seems willing to test the limits of its power to lighten the hand of government. For that it deserves the plaudits and support of all broadcasting." From other directions, however, the FCC will be getting boos and hisses. The Citizen Communications Center is planning to file a lawsuit against the FCC on behalf of a variety of public interest groups appealing the recent deregulation of commercial TV.

At TRAC, Sam Simon thinks this controversy reflects more than power jockeying or even the prospect of vaster wastelands on TV. "It reflects the loss of the idea of community," he says. "It's an amoral approach to something that inherently has moral and value implications."

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IN THESE TIMES



Walter Mondale scrambles for unity

By David Moberg

SAN FRANCISCO

FEW MYTHS ARE AS POWERFUL, protean and persistent as the American dream, that catch-all imagery of a land of ever-faithful individuals scrambling upward, counting on pluck and luck to "get ahead" of wherever they have been. True enough to inspire hope, vacuous enough to encompass all goals, it encourages those who fail to blame themselves, not the rules of the game.

It is an old and a popular story. But it is no more accurate for being venerable and loved. Now, with plastic flags aflutter in San Francisco's Moscone Convention Center, the Democrats and Walter Mondale have offered this muddled dream as their vision of the future, attempting to fight Ronald Reagan for the White House over who can tell the old tales more convincingly.

The real dream is just that: winning the presidency. Despite polls showing him far behind Reagan, Mondale may realize his own personal version of the American dream, but if he does it will not be because of who he is. More likely it will occur in spite of him. If there is any unity to the Democratic constituencies, it is the artificial unity of opposition to Reagan. If there is any passion to the campaign, it will come from that antagonism and from the excitement generated by many movements—of blacks, women, Hispanics, environmentalists, peace advocates, union members and others—who find Mondale an acceptable vehicle for their own issues and interests.

There was more excitement at the con-

vention about vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro than about Mondale himself. She was the perfect symbol to fit the campaign theme. A daughter of Italian immigrants, raised by her mother under modest circumstances, Ferraro worked to put herself through law school before marrying a successful landlord and raising a family, then launching a political career from the "Archie Bunker" district of Queens. This may be symbolic politics, representing the theme of opening locked doors.

But symbols can have power. Democrats from all over the country hoped that as both symbol and as an energetic, down-home campaigner she would in-

spire not only women but other groups—certainly Italians and other European ethnics, maybe young people and blacks—to gamble on voting for the Democratic ticket.

As a liberal member of Congress who has managed to combine traditional female roles with a career and holds a generally feminist outlook, Ferraro also legitimates women candidates and women's issues, giving them a new seriousness. She may also nudge women's groups more toward the economic and political concerns of working-class women.

But the reality behind the American dream is that most progress for ordinary Americans has not come by pluck and luck, individual hard work and merit, and all the other traditional values invoked by Mondale, Ferraro and others—as well as Ronald Reagan, whose version of the story was derided as social Darwinism by New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. It has come from social movements, often originating outside routine political processes, and challenging the rules, not simply following them as Ferraro said in her acceptance speech.

Jesse Jackson's candidacy is more obviously a product of long, continuing social pressure. Twenty years ago blacks were beating on the door of the Democratic Party to have the Freedom Democratic Party seated for Mississippi. Despite the continued racial blinders that kept many whites from voting for him, Jackson's presence was testimony to a truer version of the American dream: organized political struggle can bring change, however slow it may seem, however incomplete it remains.

The irony is that Mondale has chosen

as the central theme of his campaign an attractive mythology that is so at odds with the message of the movements that may ultimately bring him his own individual success. Yet much as he depends on a renewed black political movement, a broad women's movement, the nuclear freeze movement, new stirrings within the labor movement and opponents of U.S. overseas military adventures that represent the popular left in the country, his rhetoric is largely conservative.

That is not necessarily an utterly damning quality. Often radical change is brought about in the defense of traditional values. In any case, it is a disaster for the left to permit images of family, patriotism and faith to be appropriated and interpreted by the right for its ends.

Troubling questions.

But there are some more troubling questions raised by Mondale's rhetoric. Practically, will his conservative American dream theme pose a sufficiently strong contrast to Reagan's own version to motivate the voters he needs? More substantially, does his invocation of the old values bring along many of the old policies—or perhaps no clear policy at all?

The Democrats at times seem schizophrenic, perhaps suffering from multiple personalities. It is easy to make the case that the party platform this year is at best vague and at worst fairly conservative: even national health insurance has been dropped, military spending will continue to grow and there is little commitment to use public powers to create jobs, let alone share the work through reduced hours. But for all of its limitations, the platform does advocate, beyond a freeze, a long

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If there is any unity among the Democratic constituencies it is the artificial unity of opposition to Reagan.

IN SHORT

Settled in Minnesota

The Minnesota Nurses Association ratified a new contract by an overwhelming 3,014 to 37 vote on July 9, ending their 39-day strike against 16 Twin Cities hospitals, reports Mordecai Spektor. The largest strike of nurses in U.S. history resulted in a contract providing protection against layoffs and hours reductions for senior nurses. The hospitals agreed that new nurses would not be hired until nurses on layoff were recalled. The nurses obtained an 8 percent wage increase over the next two years, with a pay increase to be negotiated in the third year. A few nurses were recalled immediately, but it is expected to take weeks before most of them are recalled, and hospital administrators said that lost business from the strike could result in no callbacks for many nurses.

BRAC branches out

The Amtrak System Division No. 250 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) was born July 9 in Rockville, Md. The new Amtrak Division is a landmark victory for 3,500 reservations and station agents, redcaps, commissary workers, office clerks, porters and waiters formerly represented by BRAC's Allied Services Division.

A two-year petition campaign for the more autonomous Amtrak Division succeeded this spring when the BRAC executive board acted on survey results that showed by a 17-1 margin that Amtrak workers were ready for their own division. New general chairman is Mike Young of Florence, S.C., and Joel Parker of Oakland is general secretary-treasurer. Parker and Bill Danby of Chicago are vice general chairmen. But as the union surges, Amtrak management reels. A House subcommittee will hold a hearing July 30 in Chicago on mass charges of irregularities in discipline as well as race and age discrimination. The next issue of *In These Times* will report on these hearings.

Red squad rebuff

Late last month a federal court jury in Chicago found unconstitutional a successful plan by the Chicago Police Intelligence Unit to cripple a Puerto Rican civil rights group, reports Chip Berlet. The jury awarded \$60,000 to the Spanish Action Committee of Chicago (SACC) after hearing evidence that in 1966, Chicago Police "Red Squad" agents had infiltrated SACC, manipulated a split, convinced members to resign and then set up a competing organization in Chicago's Puerto Rican community. The new group, called the American Spanish Speaking Peoples Association (ASSPA), was then provided with a press release that denounced SACC as Communist-infiltrated. The resulting media coverage virtually destroyed SACC with red-baiting.

According to original Red Squad documents provided to the jury, the police implemented a plan to "destroy SACC, its leaders and its community influence." SACC attorney Richard Gutman told the jury the city planned to destroy SACC because it disagreed with its political views, not because it was engaged in illegal activity. City attorney Peter Fitzpatrick argued the police were merely trying to prevent violence in the Puerto Rican community, which had experienced several civil disturbances in the mid-'60s. Fitzpatrick asked the jury if they would rather have police facing rioters running through streets lit by the "glimmer of burning cars," or use the more subtle tactics employed against SACC. But Gutman argued that if the police had evidence of wrongdoing they should have made arrests, not covertly disrupted the group. Gutman added that, in any case, there was no evidence of illegal activity on the part of SACC or its members. The jury agreed and found the city liable for damages, but didn't fine the police officers involved.

Sidewalk intimidation

While the Democrats were inside San Francisco's Moscone Center hammering away at a platform last week, hundreds of people were half a mile away protesting the party's connections to military buildup. Said Kate Raphael of the Livermore Action Group: "We want people to know that Mondale is on the board of directors for Control Data, which makes parts for the cruise missile. And also that banks like the Bank of America—which gives hundreds of thousands of dollars to repressive regimes around the world—gave \$100,000 to the Democrats for the convention." Ninety-five protesters were arrested for blocking a sidewalk, the usual misdemeanor charge for an action of this kind, and for conspiracy to block a sidewalk, which is a felony. Said Raphael, "I guess they could slap us in jail for five years, but somehow I doubt it. It's just one more form of intimidation to keep us off the streets."

Lesson in incomprehensibility

Last month New York Judge Jack Weinstein ordered the U.S. government to remove the difficult language from Medicare forms so the elderly can better understand why their claims were turned down. Weinstein castigated the language used in the claims as "bureaucratic gobbledygook, jargon, double-talk, a form of officialese, federalese and insurance double-speak. It does not qualify as English." Later in the decision he noted that the writing was "on the level of a college senior."

—Beth Maschinot

New nominee divides IAF

WASHINGTON—There they go again. The Inter-American Foundation (IAF) used to be a development agency with a difference, a little bit of idealism in the knout-and-knuckles world of foreign aid. Its premise was simple: since poverty is an undeniable source of Latin American unrest, put small amounts of money directly into the hands of Latin American poor who are organizing to help themselves—co-operatives, mutual aid societies, even things like theater groups and radio stations (see *In These Times*, Feb. 8).

The IAF was insulated from petty power plays by its part-private, part-government board and by its mandate to stay out of local or international politics.

And then came Reagan.

Last December, the Reagan appointees on the IAF board, now a majority, fired Peter Bell, long-time president and an impeccable administrator. Finding nothing specific wrong with Bell, the board said personal differences made them want to choose their own kind of person.

Congress—including Dante Fascell, now head of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and father of the IAF—investigated charges of a coup and ended by asking the IAF board for a unanimous vote for the next president, as has been the precedent.

It's taken until now, but the Reagan-era board members have finally come up with someone they think will fill Bell's shoes.

Her name is Deborah Szekely, founder and president of Golden Door enterprises, dubbed in her resume as "the first fitness resorts since those of the Roman empire." At the Golden Door you can lose unwanted adipose tissue for a mere \$2,500 a week.

The entrepreneur who built a million-dollar empire out of the body fashions of the rich is excited by the challenge. It's time, she believes, to share a little or,



IAF nominee Deborah Szekely runs a fitness resort and has no experience in Latin American affairs.

as she puts it, to give the poor "their dreams."

Szekely claims she's qualified to deal in Latin American affairs because in her indefatigable charity work (which she does, she says, as a "catalyst to her growth") she convinced two foundations to expand their programs "to Mexico and from there to Latin America." She also thinks she'll get along with Latin Americans because "Hispanics are wonderful with older women."

But does she understand the complex world of politics and government, the maelstrom of power through which the IAF's people-to-people projects are threaded? She ought to. In her part-time job at the U.S. Information Agency—one of Reagan's favorite non-military agencies—she heads the private sector programs. And she's a political veteran. Not only did she run (unsuccessfully) for Congress in 1982, she has been a

high-visibility Republican Party activist in every election since 1976. In fact, in 1982 she was regent of the National Federation of Republican Women.

Szekely's candidacy has managed to polarize the board along political lines. Four (of five) Reagan appointees present at a June 15 board meeting enthusiastically supported her. And the two remaining Carter-era appointees thumbed her down.

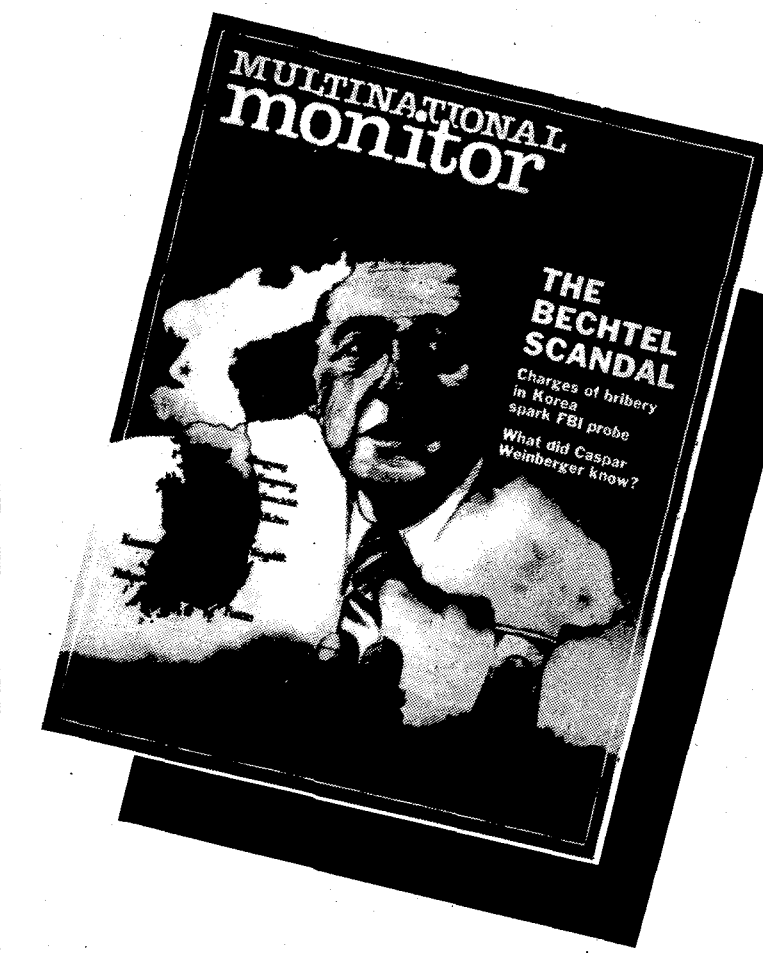
In the days before Reagan, that would have meant going back to the search committee. But in March, the board majority ruled that if one person dissented, the board would negotiate for 30 days and then vote again, accepting a majority vote. Then at the June 15 meeting the board majority decided that rule would apply if two people dissented. The majority will rule on Szekely's nomination this week.

The IAF's alarmed supporters are looking to Dante Fascell to see if the powerful committee chairman will act to save his own creation. And they are also eyeing the House sub-committee on Western Hemisphere affairs, whose chairman Michael Barnes believes that a majority-vote president "will not be credible to Congress, to the Latin American institutions the foundation supports or to the American public." With the incredible about to happen, Fascell and Barnes are on the spot to rescue the one small dream of inter-American aid that actually came true—for a while.

—©Pat Aufderheide

Contract bid rocks Monitor

WASHINGTON—The office of the *Multinational Monitor* (MM)—the Ralph Nader-owned monthly known for solid reporting on the abuses of multinational corporations—has been ringing with charges of abuse closer to home these past few months. Though the immediate battle is between Nader and ex-editor



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Shorrock, the situation has ramifications for workers in a public-interest environment are contemplating the merits of a contract.

The story line—though long and background and colored by the strong personalities and political differences of Nader and Shorrock—came to a head with a fight between Nader and Shorrock over an article in the May issue of *MM*. The article delved into bribery at the Bechtel Corporation from 1978 to 1980, a time when Caspar Weinberger and George Shultz were in positions to have known something about it. But Nader, the sole owner of *MM* who had retained the right to see all articles before they went to press, was not convinced that the article was well substantiated.

Shorrock counters that he had made some of the changes in the article that Nader has asked for, had submitted it to Nader lawyers to go over with a fine-tooth comb for libel, and believed that it was a credible and newsworthy story.

In mid-April, with the status of the story still unclear, Shorrock found out that the *New York Times* was out to "scoop" the story, and he decided to announce the findings and rush the story into print a week before schedule. Shorrock says he attempted to get in touch with Nader at this point, but that Nader refused to talk to him, telling another staffmember to hold the story until the next day.

That's when all hell broke loose. Nader fired Shorrock immediately, then reconsidered and gave him three months to find another job. On May 9, the three-member staff informed Nader that they were starting a collective bargaining unit and asked for his good faith in negotiating with them.

By that time Nader had turned over ownership of *MM* to Essential Information, a non-profit corporation run by three of his friends. They immediately fired Shorrock and left the other staff members in job limbo. The staff continued to try to negotiate with Nader and the new owners, but were met with refusals. They since have filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board.

Now comes the latest Nader-backed attack: a \$1.2 million lawsuit against the staff and a former writer for attempting "destruction of a publication." It seems that Shorrock took the notes for the Bechtel story in order to protect his sources and writer John Cavanagh wrote a letter informing friends of the goings on at *MM*. Cavanagh is part of a support group of *MM* writers that has formed to boycott the monthly.

Throughout the skirmish, Nader's zealous nature seems offended by the contract fight. He prefers to see his workers as dedicated to a larger cause and not mired in a "we-they type situation." Others, though, are beginning to believe that working in public service need not be synonymous with lacking the protection a contract affords. Frank Wallach, a long-time *Monitor* supporter and editor of the *UAW Washington Report*, thinks that maybe the time has come for service contracts

in marriages these days, so I don't think a contract between a movement and the people who work for it is so terribly off the wall." —Beth Maschinot

OSHA revises asbestos count

WASHINGTON—The Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) wrapped up 17 days of public hearings last week on proposed revisions of the asbestos standards of the Occupational Safety and Health Act—revisions strongly opposed by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), which represents many of the 375,000 U.S. employees that work with asbestos.

Current OSHA standards have been in effect since 1976 and provide for a maximum limit of two million airborne asbestos fibers per cubic meter in the workplace, along with the requirement that employees wear a respirator. The one-size-fits-all respirators, which cover the mouth and nose with a thin mask, have been widely attacked as uncomfortable, impractical for an eight-hour shift and ineffective in preventing the inhalation of asbestos dust.

The permissible exposure level (PEL) and the respirators have come under increasing fire in the past decade as asbestos inhalation has been increasingly linked to cancer and lung disease. The ACTWU estimates that asbestos-related cancer deaths, which stood at 8,000 this year, are on the rise. A Labor Department decision on the new standards is expected by mid 1985.

The two revisions that dominated the OSHA hearings regarded a proposal to give employers in the asbestos industry a choice. They can either use engineering controls and ventilation systems to reduce the PEL to 500,000 or 200,000 fibres per cubic meter, or rely on respirators to achieve the same level. The lower PEL would be a substantial reduction from the current two million fibre level, but still unsafe, according to the ACTWU, especially if lower levels are achieved with the ineffective respirators. The ACTWU predicts that most employers will opt for the respirator, which is the less expensive standard.

"Respirators are not that fool-proof," admitted Kenneth Cram, a chemical engineer at OSHA in Washington, D.C. "The worker is not absolutely sure he's got a tight seal."

"This," said one ACTWU official, holding a respirator high, "is the last line of defense as far as OSHA is concerned."

Midway through the hearings, which started June 19 and concluded July 12, the ACTWU charged that the Reagan administration's Office of Management and Budget pushed OSHA to propose the new standard to reduce labor costs in the asbestos industry. OSHA denied that the standards are politically motivated, saying that pressure to reduce the PEL had been building for many years, while hedging on whether a 500,000 or 200,000 fibre limit is safe with or without a respirator. —Barbara Yuill

On July 14, after verdicts of guilty were returned against eight religious peace activists for conspiracy and "depredation" of Pershing II missile components, spectators in the packed federal courtroom broke into song. Despite the possibility of 15 year sentences and \$20,000 fines, the defendants, collectively known as the Pershing Plowshares, joined in the singing.

Each defendant had taken the witness stand and admitted to breaking into the Martin Marietta Corporation in the early morning darkness on Easter and "disarming" a Pershing missile launcher by hammering on the control panel and cutting hydrolic hoses. They splattered their own blood over missile components and left behind peace banners and photographs of friends and family, the potential victims of the nuclear holocaust. An hour later they were discovered singing and praying in an ecumenical Easter sunrise service.

The Pershing Plowshares break-in at Martin Marietta was the eighth in a series of actions by a loosely associated band of activists attempting to achieve both symbolic and physical disarmament of nuclear weapons. The word plowshare refers to Isaiah's Old Testament injunction to "beat swords into plowshares." The latest raid was the third for 57-year-old Sister Anne Montgomery.

What all alumni of Plowshare actions share are deep religious convictions and a history of commitment to justice causes. Many have taken vows of poverty and work at soup kitchens and shelters for the homeless. All of the disarmament attempts are preceded by months of community prayer, reflection and role-playing designed to form a cohesive community of faith that members feel is required to cope with the possibility of prison sentences of up to 35 years.

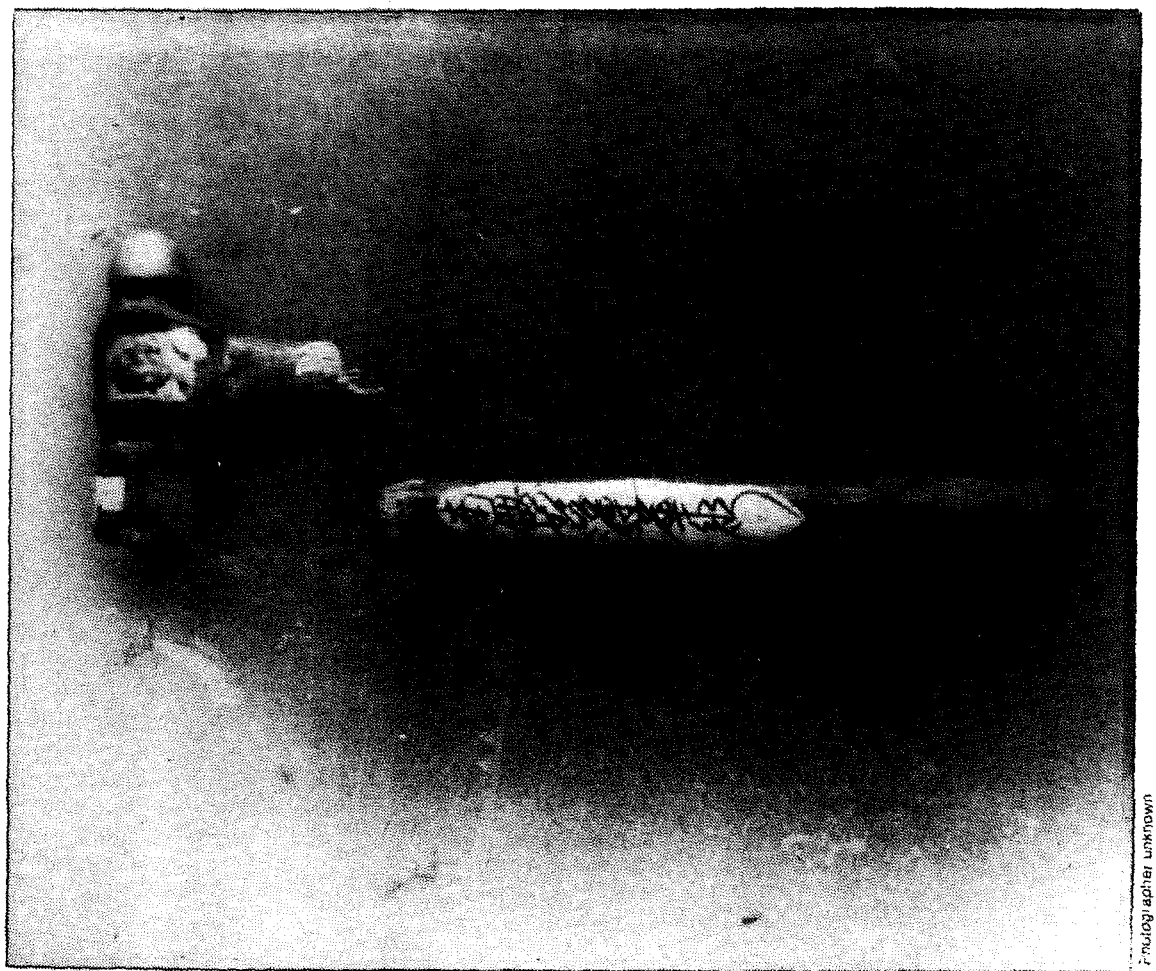
Elmer Maas, participant in two of the actions, stated that while no Plowshare defendant

Defendant Paul Magno



Photographer unknown

Briefing: Plowshares conspire for peace



Photographer unknown

The Plowshare Movement began on September 9, 1980, when eight persons entered the General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pa., and hammered on two Mark 12-A nuclear warheads. Subsequent raids have damaged the Trident Submarines U.S.S. *Florida* and *Georgia*, equipment destined for the cruise, Pershing II and MX missiles, as well as engines of six B-52 bombers.

has been acquitted of criminal charges, the juries have been visibly moved. After one of the trials, a jury member slipped the defendants a note apologizing for convicting them. In another case, jurors told the press that they were angered that the court's instructions were so narrowly drawn that the law did not allow them to acquit the defendants.

The verdict in the Pershing Plowshares case was no surprise since many of the jurors had ties to the military or to defense contractors. The prosecutor described the defendants as a gang of vandals telling jurors

that "the law protects property as it protects lives," even though this property happened to be nuclear weaponry. While the defense tried to argue that they had no intent to destroy property, only to convert it to a new, non-threatening form, the jury followed the judges' narrowly drawn instructions which did not allow the motivations of the eight to be considered.

Juror Margaret Lee, a Roman Catholic whose son was about to leave for a stint in the Navy, confronted defendant Sister Anne Montgomery after the trial, scolded her for conduct unbecoming of a nun and said—"You did an Un-American thing"...you should "render unto Caesar." Defendant Patrick O'Neill saw things differently as he looked back on the judge's refusal to allow defenses based upon "God's law" or upon the necessity of avoiding the imminent danger of nuclear war. "It's strange, God is irrelevant and [U.S.] nuclear policy can't be considered," quipped O'Neill. A sentencing hearing has been set for July 25.

It is not likely that the government will stand by as peace-makers continue to damage the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Fr. Daniel Berrigan, one of the "Plow-

Above: James Perkins' hammer with Buddhist peace message.

shares Eight" who put a nuclear missile nosecone out of commission in 1980, as well as other former "Plowshare" defendants present at the trial, state their opinion that the government might be readying for a grand jury investigation into Plowshare movement which could result in a large-scale round-up of conspirators for peace.

—Alex C



Steve Kagan

Dems

Continued from page 3

list of solid disarmament moves and includes some good language on plant closings, farm policy and urban strategies.

In accepting the nomination, Mondale told 1980 Reagan supporters that he had learned lessons from his defeat: "Look at our platform. There are no defense cuts that weaken our security; no business taxes that weaken our economy; no laundry lists that raid our treasury." At the same time he blamed Reagan for encouraging "executives to vote themselves huge wages," warned corporations that export jobs that "our country won't help your business—unless your business helps our country." And pledged a nuclear freeze, negotiations with the Soviets and an immediate end to the "illegal war in Nicaragua."

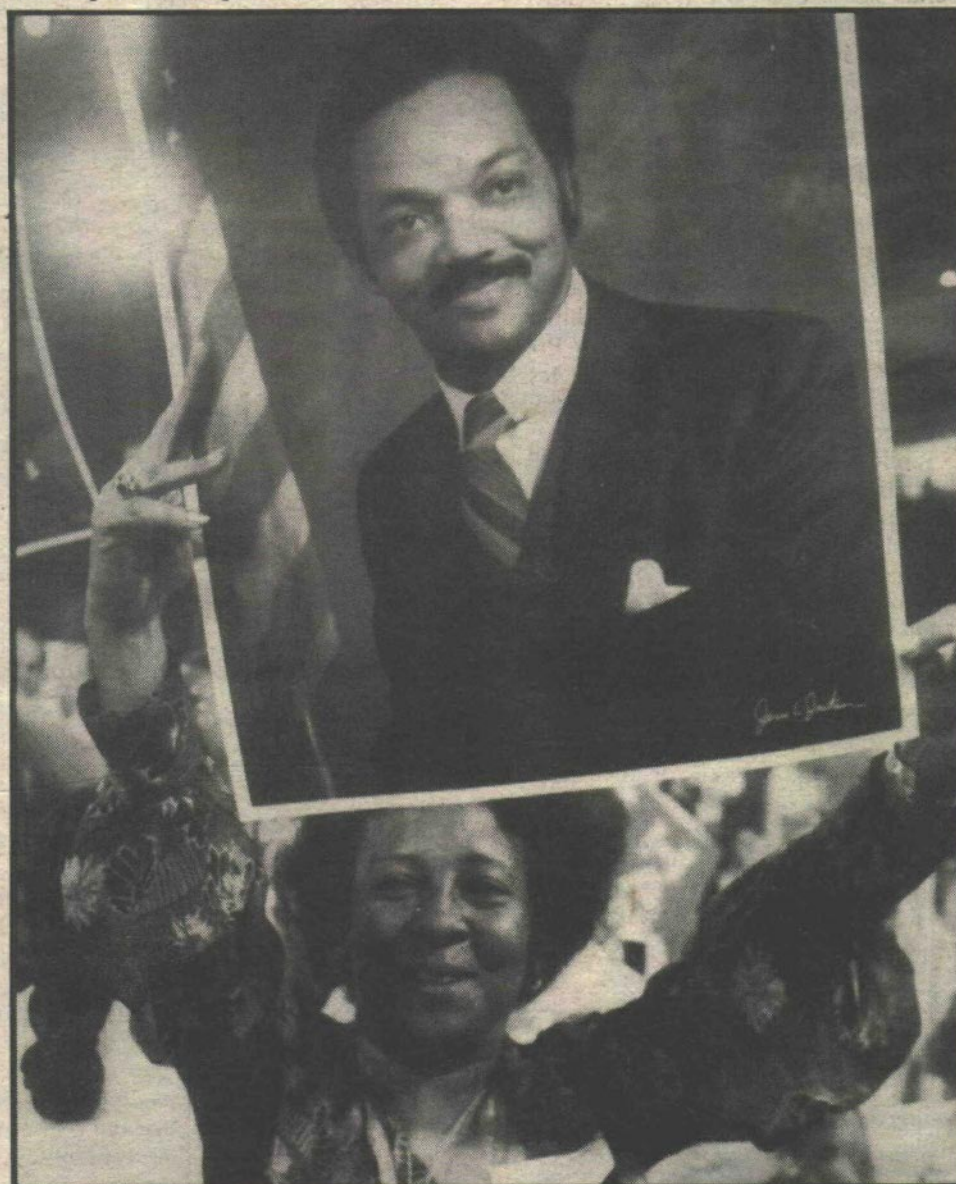
Where are Fritz and the Democrats going? Left or right? "Of the candidates running, we ended up with the three most progressive, except McGovern, who gave the platform a B-plus, criticizing it for failing to cut mandatory spending, to reduce our first use of nuclear weapons, and opposing U.S. intervention strongly," argued Billie Carr, Texas delegate and Democratic National Committee member who chairs its Liberal-Progressive Caucus and the new Democratic Coalition. "I was so afraid it was going to be Glenn. That's got to show that philosophically the party has moved somewhat to a moderately progressive position. Jesse Jackson did a lot to open up things and keep everyone's feet on fire. But if I was writing the platform, it would be far stronger across the board." Major prime-time performances were all from the party's liberal wing, and the anti-drug ravings of New York Mayor Ed Koch were relegated to a small afternoon slot—better than most of the party's powerful conservatives who did not even appear.

Some part of the shift reflects the changes in the party in the last few years as the many liberal-left movements and the mass constituencies of blacks, women and Hispanics have turned to electoral politics and the Democratic Party in reaction to Reaganism. They had not made their mark as the antiwar movement and other forces shaped the party in 1972, but that is partly because they have become pragmatic—perhaps too much so. That was especially evident with the Freeze Caucus. After much hesitation they finally voted to support Jackson's minority platform plans calling for no first use of nuclear weapons (instead of "to move toward the adoption of a 'no first use' policy," described as a "Zen principle" with no conclusion) and for "substantial, real reductions in military spending over the next five years." Many freeze leaders didn't want to fight, since they had already won inclusion of most of their points in the platform. "We don't want anything to detract from the message that this is a very strong platform," Jim Bubar of the Cranston-Wiesner Arms Control Project said. Other liberal and left delegates who privately favored military cuts and no first use argued that they didn't want to have the candidate embarrassed by—or repudiate—the platform or dismissed platforms as irrelevant.

Extended negotiations brought a last-minute compromise on one Jackson plank (support for "verifiable measurements" of affirmative action rather than a statement rejecting "quotas which are inconsistent with the principles of our country" that presumably permitted some quotas). Mondale conceded the Hart minority plank setting ground rules for U.S. military intervention, since it was likely to have passed.

Although there were real differences, and it was especially hard to compromise on the issue of military spending, there was also the suspicion that Mondale forces wanted to stand up to Jackson for the sake of anti-Jackson voters. For their part, the Jackson delegates saw no reason

(Above) Reporters flocked around Gov. Mario Cuomo after he delivered a stirring keynote address. (Below) A day later, Rev. Jesse Jackson delivered his inspirational speech.



Steve Kagan

to compromise on their issues, including elimination of run-off primaries. Jackson repeatedly sent word out that there were not even any negotiations. Jackson had nothing to lose by fighting, but Mondale did.

In the end many Jackson delegates

were very bitter that they seemed to have won so little. Some black women were ready to nominate former U.S. Rep. Shirley Chisholm against Ferraro as a sign of displeasure with both Mondale and white women even though women's movement

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By Joan Walsh

SAN FRANCISCO

AMONG WOMEN DELEGATES at last week's Democratic convention the most frequently swapped story was, "What were you doing when you heard Mondale picked Ferraro?" The anecdotes were documenting history, but they also testified to the genuine surprise—even among women leaders lobbying for it—that Mondale chose a woman as his running mate.

Now Mondale's uncharacteristic boldness can also fairly be termed desperation. The move came as polls showed the likely Democratic nominee running as much as 20 percent behind Ronald Reagan. It also came at a time of rapidly escalating pressure on Mondale to pick a female vice president, both to prove his commitment to women's rights as well as inspire women voters and maximize the gender gap in November.

Woman supporters had been making the argument for nearly a year, of course. It took political form at the National Organization for Women (NOW) conference last fall, when the group endorsed Mondale at the same time it passed a resolution calling for a woman vice president. The Democratic Task Force of the National Woman's Political Caucus (NWPC) began its vice-presidential project in the same period, laying the ground work for nominating a woman at the party convention—preferably with the presidential nominee's support, potentially without it.

The latter scenario became more plausible last month as word came from inside the Mondale camp that top advisors opposed a woman vice president, arguing that women would support Mondale regardless of his running mate, while moderate to conservative male voters, particularly southerners and blue-collar ethnics, would not. NOW turned up the heat at its June meeting when it passed a resolution to submit a woman's name from the convention floor should Mondale pick a male running mate. The resolution was widely reported as implying a walk-out, an intent NOW leaders and others subsequently denied. But if female Democrats weren't ready to leave the convention over the issue, they were prepared to test their strength with it.

It was a test many believed they could have won. The Vice-Presidential Project found a significant majority of delegates favored putting a woman on the ticket. Other groups, including NOW and the Woman's Trust headed by former NOW leaders Eleanor Smeal and Mollie Yard, located the staunchest pro-woman vice president delegates and set up a whip system in each state delegation. NOW President Judy Goldsmith met with the Jessie Jackson camp and got pledges of support for a nomination from the floor.

While those women were adding up their support within the convention, others were looking at a different set of numbers—how many voters a woman vice president could add to the ticket. A group of feminist leaders and women elected officials met with Mondale July 4 to present their conviction that a woman vice president would inspire women to vote.

"One of the main questions he was asking was could we deliver?" said Millie Jeffrey, a former NWPC leader. Jeffrey and others believed the meeting made a strong political case for a woman on the ticket but they left uncertain, even pessimistic, about Mondale's inclinations. In the following days there were reliable reports that Mondale had decided against a woman, as well as encouraging signs—his follow-up interviews with San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein and New York Rep. Geraldine Ferraro.

In the end, both sets of numbers—the delegate count behind a woman vice president and the potential voters a woman could draw—apparently convinced Mondale. Other political considerations figured as well.

"Had he named a male, Hart would have named a woman and we'd have gotten delegates away from him," U.S. Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-CO) told *In These Times*. The Ferraro announcement got



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Women's choice or standard bearer?

Mondale a few days of almost universal political praise and respect, a reaction that appeared to surprise even Mondale himself. "The polls were bound to be inconclusive. The reality was much greater than we could predict," said Jeffrey.

Closing the chasm.

The pre-convention Ferraro nomination left the women's caucus with a lot to celebrate but little to do. NWPC announced the Sunday before the convention that it was disbanding its floor operation since Mondale's choice made it unnecessary. But one significant task remained: closing the chasm that had opened between the predominantly white organized women's movement and Jackson's black feminist supporters.

Resentment had earlier surfaced over the absence of prominent white feminists in Jackson's rainbow coalition. NOW especially had been criticized for endorsing Mondale over Jackson, and leading Jackson supporters, most notably California Rep. Maxine Waters, had talked of a split in the women's caucus at the convention. (See special Gender Gap issue, *ITT*, June 17.)

While Jackson backers, male and female alike, hailed Mondale's choice of Ferraro, many denounced his selection process, since no black women prospects were called to North Oaks for an interview even to consult on the decision.

"I'd have liked to be in those rooms. Now there's a lot of frustration," Waters said.

That frustration was fueled by the disbanding of the women's floor operation, which left minority women without a channel for their discontent. The Black Women's Caucus began to talk of drafting a formal statement of grievance, and some members advocated submitting a black woman as vice presidential nominee from the floor.

Opportunity for collaboration and compromise came in the four Jackson minority planks (see story page 3), which

the women's caucus was asked to support. NOW obliged early by endorsing the plank and offering its floor operations to the Jackson camp. "There is still nothing visible at this convention for the minority community," said NOW President Goldsmith.

Other prominent women—Smeal, Schroeder, Yard, Abzug and Gloria Steinem—also endorsed the Jackson demands, although Ferraro, platform committee chair, appeared at the women's caucus Tuesday, July 17, to make a friendly pitch for unity and, implicitly, support for the Mondale line.

"We had a marvelous success with our platform," she said, pointing to its stands on comparable worth, child care and other social programs. The minority planks were insignificant, she argued, given the range of consensus the platform otherwise represented. "I don't want it to

How many votes will Geraldine Ferraro add to the ticket?

divide us," she told the caucus.

But in debate, most women supported the Jackson line on affirmative action, second primaries, no first use of nuclear weapons and defense spending cuts. Jackson himself addressed the caucus to urge support for his planks.

"Debate does not mean division; debate means democracy," he said as he urged that women and blacks come together to combat "racism, sexism and militarism." Although the caucus never put the planks to a vote, chair Bella Abzug measured their approval in the delegates' applause and judged all four to have majority support. The caucus also supported Hart's no-use-of-force plank.

But three of the four Jackson planks went down to defeat, leading some black women to question the depth of commitment they really had from the caucus. Division persisted, culminating in a meeting between Ferraro and prominent Jackson supporters to discuss black women's anger at their exclusion from the selection process, and their concern about Ferraro's reputation as a congresswoman from a conservative "Archie Bunker" district.

But the Black Women's Caucus was meeting at the same time and frustration led some women to tears, then to action. They decided to enter Shirley Chisholm's name in nomination from the floor, "not because we object to Ferraro herself, but to the process," said Chicago delegate Joyce Hughes.

Said Wisconsin State Rep. Polly Williams, "I have to have something to take back to my people."

By the time Democratic National Convention Vice Chair for Minority Concerns C. DeLores Tucker returned to report on the meeting with Ferraro, the action had been taken. Neither she nor Maxine Waters, who came to the caucus with her, tried to dissuade the group from their protest. "I did not attend the meeting with Ferraro. I feel a certain unreadiness," said Waters. "This is an example of the frustration black women are feeling."

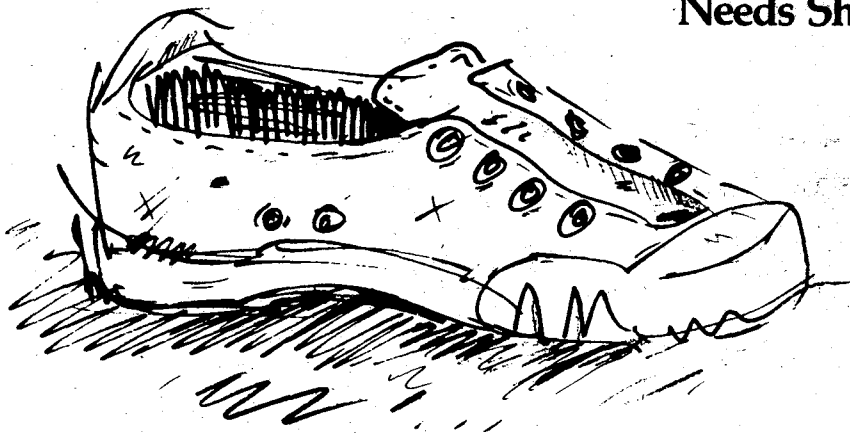
On the convention floor, only Arkansas got to cast three of its 42 electoral votes for Chisholm before Ferraro's nomination was accepted by acclamation.

Continued on page 11

CONVENTION

In her convention appearances, she was the loyal running mate and played by the rules.

Even a Shoestring Operation Needs Shoestrings



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Dems

Continued from page 6

leaders backed Jackson's minority planks. (See story on page 7.)

"There has to be a positive signal for black America," said Gary, Ind. Mayor Richard Hatcher, Jackson's campaign chairman. "There was a signal to women with Geraldine Ferraro. There was a signal to the South with Bert Lance appointed as party chairman, then shifted to campaign chairman, in what was widely seen as a powerful blast to Mondale's foot. We need a black signal."

But there was only Jackson's big night of unity, apology, attack and inspiration and a few kind words and little more: little of Jackson's message even crept in to Mondale's speech.

So much of the popular political left has moved into the Democratic Party arena, fought some fights, lost some and won some and ended up with a candidate who is a traditional liberal trying to establish conservative credentials. Is the left in danger of being drowned in the centrist sea?

"It's a real tendency, but it's not the only one," argued Massachusetts state Rep. Tom Gallagher, one of about 60 Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) delegates and alternates (out of 5,257) and a part of the Socialist Caucus. "They see their influence and are confused. They don't know when to fight and when to be good party soldiers. They're afraid of being ultraleft. But I think the left's danger now is being swallowed up, although the left's larger problem is being relevant at all."

The left's main practical pitch is that its issues, ideas and rhetoric can bring in new voters. Only 52.6 percent of eligible voters cast ballots in 1980, and a third of the voting age population is not even registered. Jackson demonstrated the left populist appeal could work (although he did not unequivocally prove that there would be a net gain for the party, ultimately the crucial test).

And the pressure is still on Mondale to advocate clear alternatives to Reagan. "I think Mondale has to be more outspoken to win," U.S. Rep. Gus Hawkins argued early in the week. Jackson was "sharp on the issues," although strategically he ran a narrow, "racist" campaign, Hawkins said. "He dealt with the issues Mondale has to deal with if he's going to win."

The real always wins.

At a forum on "Whose Party Is This Anyway?" conducted by a number of left publications and groups, Hart advisor Pat Caddell argued that Reagan had succeeded not because he or his policies were popular but because he had "defined the issues, set the grounds of battle." Neo-Reagan imitations wouldn't beat him, Caddell said, because "between real and ersatz, the real always wins."

"The essence of Reagan's strength is that he believes in something," Caddell said. "In a political environment where almost nobody believes in anything except getting elected, the one-eyed man is king."

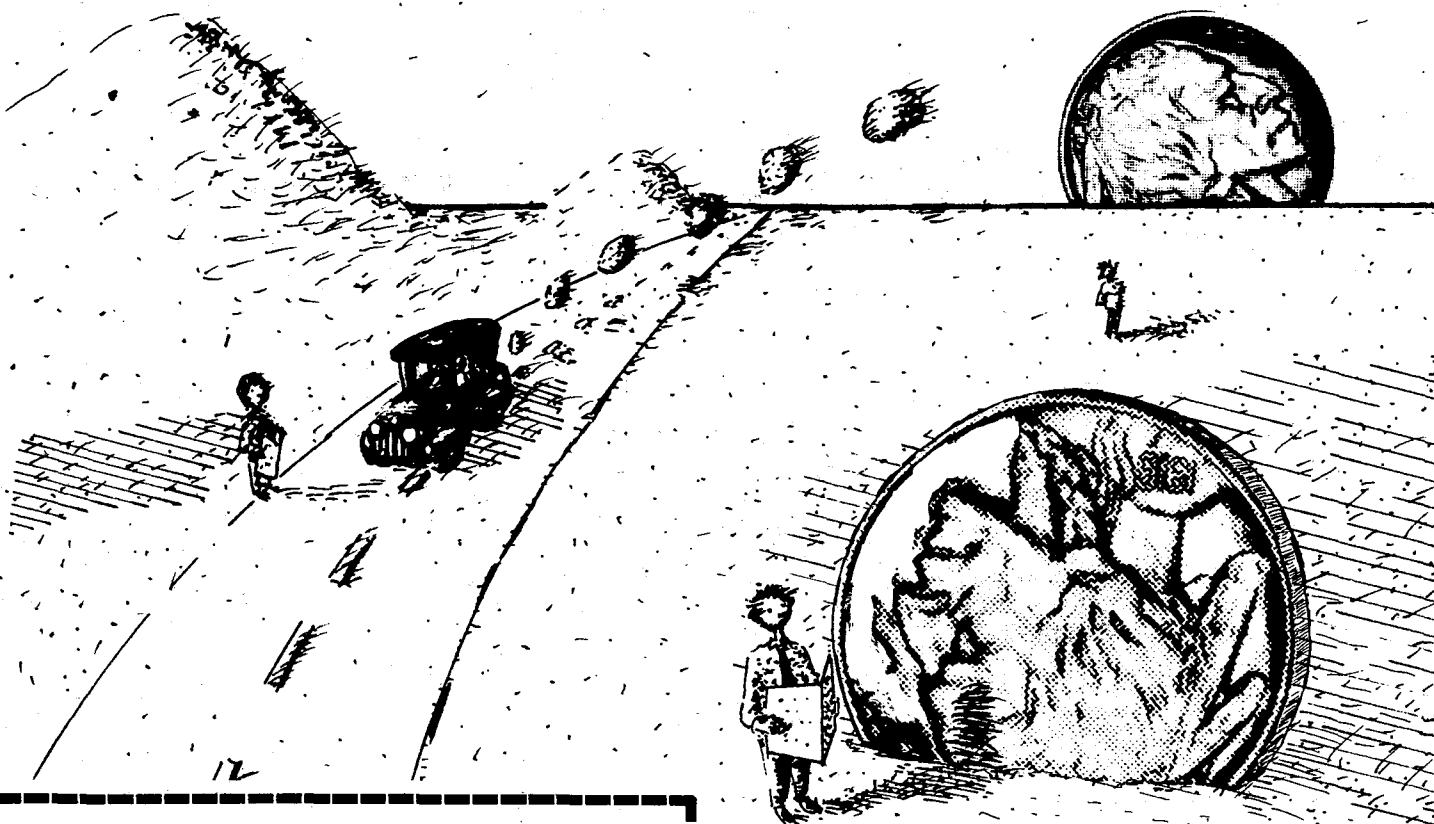
Mondale appears to be violating such advice by granting much of the terms of debate to Reagan, adopting some of his policies and failing to demonstrate that he really believes in anything, except striking pragmatic alliances (a reason why he is easily tarred with the misleading "special interest" brush).

There is also the question of style. Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower, who helped draft a strong platform statement on farm policy, observed that in this crucial state "Reagan is personally popular, but his policies are not popular. I'm all for this family approach, but we need some ass-kicking populism. The working stiff, the dirt farmer, the poor Mexican-American have got to feel that Mondale is theirs, that he's not going to just get in the White House, he's going to kick the door down."

Yet that is precisely the fire that Mon-

Continued on page 11

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HSS4

AS FRENCH PRESIDENT FRANÇOIS Mitterrand presses for a Paris-Bonn "axis" that would anchor West Germany to the French nuclear deterrent, the German left has been trying to get at least some part of the French left to pay attention to its objections. But these efforts have yet to make a dent in the remarkable French consensus behind Mitterrand's foreign policy.

His policy aims to safeguard the French nuclear force by combatting the German nuclear disarmament movement, and expand it by getting West Germany to help pay for it. In a major speech to the Bundestag on June 28, former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt supported this general policy aim, on the condition that Bonn be given some say in the use of French nuclear weapons targeted to go off on German soil. Schmidt said his plan—which is contrary to the official policy of his own Social Democratic Party (SPD)—could revive strong public support for defense spending. Thus Schmidt can count on the blessings of the Reagan administration.

He has greater international visibility than the SPD itself, not to mention the peace movement. Schmidt's conditional endorsement of an extended French nuclear umbrella helps isolate the large movement both in and outside the SPD in favor of a denuclearized zone that would include Germany.

It is in order to escape from this isolation that German peace movement leaders have been trying to get a dialog going with the French left. In May, during the European Parliamentary election campaign, an open "Memorandum to the French Left" was made public in West Berlin by a group of nuclear disarmament figures mostly associated with the SPD's left. They included former West Berlin Mayor Heinrich Albrecht, Saarbrücken Mayor Oskar Lafontaine, movement leader Jo Leinen, peace researcher Alfred Mechtersheimer, political scientist Andreas Buro and historian Peter Brandt, son of Willy Brandt.

The memorandum's sponsors said the failure to stop American nuclear missile deployment in West Germany at the end of last year was a painful defeat that increased the danger of war, but it was at least foreseeable. What was not foreseeable, they said, was the incomprehension and criticism of the German peace movement, especially in France. The Germans admitted to being "surprised and angered" by the French reaction. They said that through the press or personal conversations, many of them had come to the unhappy realization that "efforts at understanding" between the French and German lefts "have reached their lowest point."

Invitation to debate.

The document invited the French left to take part in a frank debate to overcome misunderstandings and work out mutually satisfactory approaches to security and peace policy. Much of the 13-page memorandum was published in *Le Monde*, giving French readers their first sizable sample of German peace movement opinion.

The memorandum expressed alarm at the accusations going back and forth across the Rhine and called for an "examination of conscience." It asked, has the German peace movement really "capitulated to the Soviet aspiration to hegemony," as French critics charge? Or have the French Socialists in office "turned into agents to carry out Reagan's rearmament program and the prisoners of a nuclear strategy dictated by national egotism"?

German and French left alike, the document suggested, should be able to draw the same lesson from history: "that the military prestige of nation states has always been an instrument in the hands of those who hold power" and whose victory over external enemies is always "simultaneously achieved against the internal opposition of democrats and socialists."

But it acknowledged that the left in

IN THE WORLD

Germans want to debate French left

Germany and in France had drawn different, even conflicting lessons from the traumatic experience of German fascism. German anti-fascists are firmly convinced "that precisely the Germans should be in the front rank of European resistance to means of mass extermination." This contrasts with the French left's concern not to repeat "Munich."

The Germans said they agreed that violent resistance and armed defense were necessary against Hitlerism, but warned that all too often "traumatic fixation on past situations gets in the way of seeing the present for what it is." The memorandum suggested that many French people today seem to want to compensate for past capitulation to Nazi Germany "by particularly emphatic determination" to defend themselves against the Soviet Union. "Many of us have the impression today that a relatively large number of formerly pro-Communist intellectuals, attempting to surmount their past, are succumbing to a new irrationality, labeling the Soviet Union, which they used to build up into a myth, as a veritable demon, instead of at long last analyzing critically and without prejudice a world situation which has dangerously altered."

Much of the document was devoted to refuting comparisons, frequent in France these days, between Hitler's Germany on the eve of World War II and the Soviet Union of today. It called such comparisons "fallacious and harmful to any objective discussion of the dangers of war today." It added that what underlies the reproach addressed to the West German peace movement of being blind to the Soviet threat is in fact "a deep-seated distrust as to the unforeseeable autonomous role Germans might play in European

and international politics."

The memorandum suggested that the French could erroneously attribute the West German peace movement to such causes as fearful capitulation before the Soviet threat or a revival of German nationalism because recent debates on Western military strategy "seem to have gone past French Socialists and left intellectuals without leaving a trace." It invited the French to seek out the "real motives" of the peace movements in neighboring countries.

It said NATO's "forced rearmament programs" contributed to the dismantling of working people's social conquests and hunger in the Third World. And it said French policy had to answer for its "voluminous arms exports."

Overcoming the divisions.

The Germans said they favored creation of a nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons free zone in Central Europe, reduction of armed forces and their re-conversion to purely defensive armament as first steps toward a European system of "common security," as recommended by the Palme Commission. It suggested that this process, rather than anti-Communist speeches, was the way to overcome the division of Europe between hostile blocs.

The memorandum was accompanied by an invitation to debate these issues at a conference in Mannheim in early June. But the conference turned out to be lopsided, with about 1,200 intensely involved Germans on one side and some 80 rather coldly aloof French people on the other. SPD Euro-parliamentarian Heidi-Marie Wiecek-Zeul called France's security policy "too profoundly contrary to solidarity with neighboring countries" to be acceptable to leftists.

As usual, the task of representing the French Socialist Party abroad was relegated to Jacques Huntzinger, who stayed

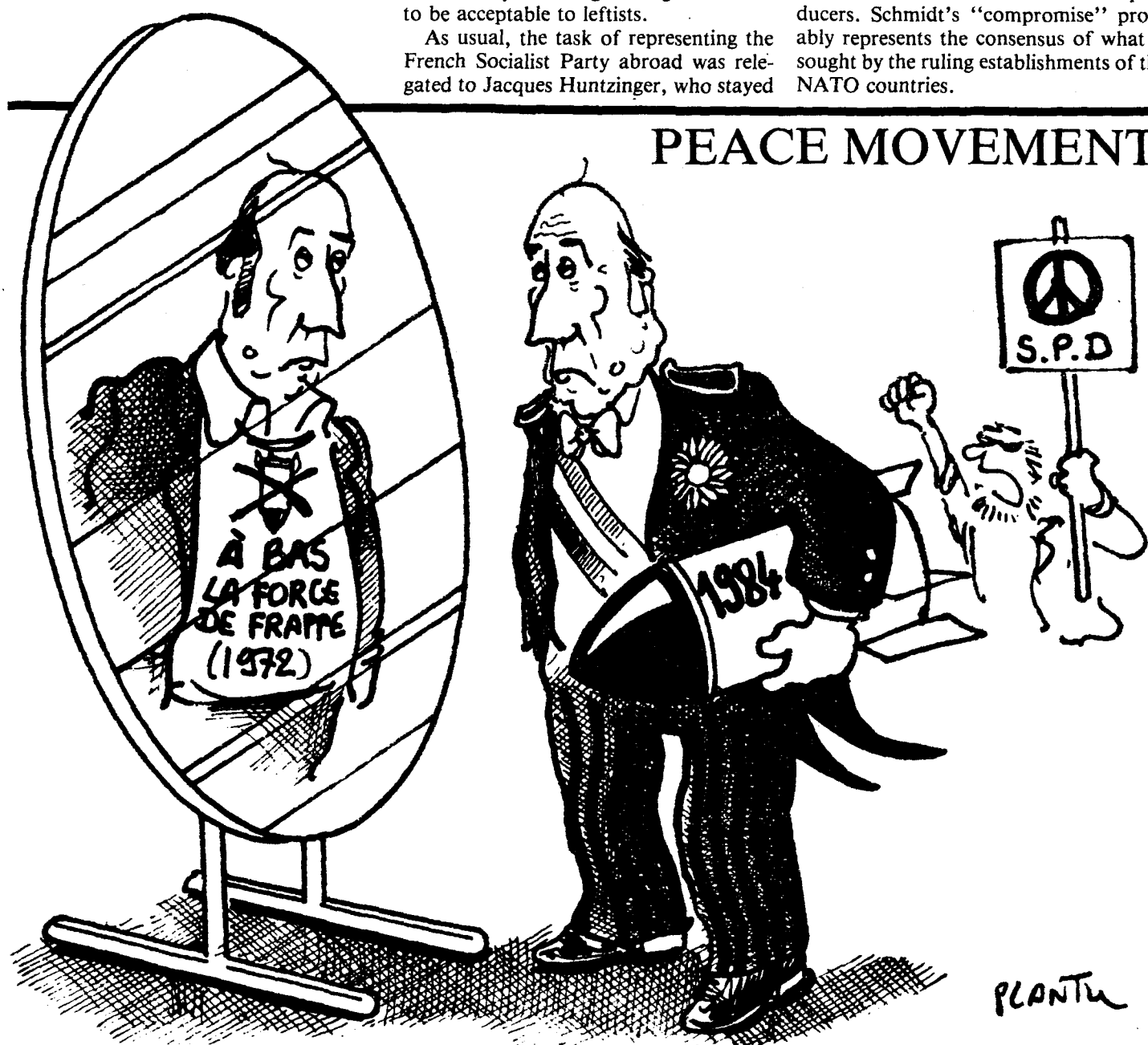
longer than planned to defend Mitterrand's nuclear policy from the Germans. Mechtersheimer blasted the French policy as intellectually superficial, nationalistic and lacking democratic legitimacy. Huntzinger denied the German left's charges that the French Socialists wanted to make Europe into a third nuclear superpower. He promised to take into consideration Germans' desire for what he persisted in calling "demilitarized zones"—not a very promising promise since what the Germans were talking about were "denuclearized zones" and Huntzinger seemed unable to digest the term.

The Germans had brought in some foreign friends to defend them from the French. Dutch peace movement representative Wim Bartels argued that it was wrong to consider the German peace movement neutralist, much less nationalist. "To us, the French look much more nationalist in their reaction," he said. Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung gave a ringing defense of German youth as the cream of the current generation in Europe and accused the French Socialists of using the nuclear *force de frappe* to promote great power aspirations.

While acknowledging that the French representation was inadequate and somewhat disappointing. The German organizers expressed satisfaction with the Mannheim encounter as the necessary first step toward a constructive dialog. But some of the German peace activists who were hearing French arguments in person for the first time were shocked, even demoralized, by the lack of sympathy.

One thing that makes it hard to get French leftists to take German Social Democrats' arguments seriously is their own longstanding conviction of being more to the left, and thus more advanced than Social Democracy. The SPD's current positions favoring nuclear disarmament are dismissed as the demagoguery of a party in opposition. And Helmut Schmidt's recent statements only confirm this view and make it harder than ever for the German peace movement to get through to the French.

In reality, the French unanimity, or indifference, may weigh heavily in West Germany itself, further isolating and weakening opponents of nuclear armament and strengthening advocates of increased military spending and close collaboration with French nuclear arms producers. Schmidt's "compromise" probably represents the consensus of what is sought by the ruling establishments of the NATO countries.



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Dems

Continued from page 6

dale lacks. His campaign will, even if he ends up relying on Jackson, be the inverse of Jesse's one-man extravaganza. Fortunately, some organizations are ready to bolster Mondale—who is cursed with high voter negative reactions and a speaking style that doesn't convey passion or conviction very well.

At the convention a group of non-partisan voter registration organizations—all of which nonetheless tend to benefit Democrats by focusing on the poor and minorities—agreed to culminate their drive to register three to five million new voters with a day in manner of the Vietnam moratorium, during which several hundred thousand volunteers will agree to register 10 new voters each (and then follow up with personal letters and election-day phone calls). "One million more on October 4" will recruit unions, along with other core groups.

The unions have plans to supplement their traditional registration effort and phone banks and mailings on behalf of their candidate with a greatly expanded program of personal contacts with members by union stewards. Starting with two towns in New Hampshire that, as a result of this "one-on-one" effort, bucked the anti-Mondale tide, a few unions adopted the personalized technique as the primary season progressed.

It is a world apart from the main union tactics last spring: for example, in Oklahoma one union international representative reported that the AFL-CIO had sent a prepared text to be read by a union member over the telephone to some other unionist—unknown to the caller and probably from a different union—that urged support of Mondale because AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was asking for it.

The one-on-one approach is "clearly the best when you've got it going," AFL-CIO political organizer Dick Wilson said. "There's nothing like somebody you know coming up to you. But the difficulty with grassroots programs is they're by nature staff-intensive."

AFSCME (public workers) and the Machinists, who will prod their stewards by asking for weekly progress reports, already have such plans in action. Although a Steelworker poll showed Reagan 7 percentage points ahead of Mondale, an AFL-CIO poll in late June showed a 55 to 35 percent lead by Mondale.

Certainly the turnout of 150,000 union members from the Bay Area the day before the convention started suggested deep anti-Reagan sentiment. (It was the largest of the convention demonstrations, which included more than 50,000 in a gay and lesbian parade, 25,000 in a peace demonstration and assorted other protests against the Klan—featuring several dozen painted punkers, U.S. intervention in Central America and denial of women's rights.)

Even if Reagan unites and motivates much opposition, even if Ferraro inspires women, young people and the yuppie crowd as well as blue-collar European ethnics who have been drifting from the party, Mondale has serious problems. The old glue of the Democratic coalition has dried up, and the fragmentation is apparent.

Jesse Jackson talks of his constituency as "the desperate, the damned, the disinherited, the disrespected and the despised." Mondale and Cuomo were addressing the working class—they might say "middle class"—traditional Democratic voters, most likely white. (Cuomo at least appealed to Catholic charity as grounds for including Jackson's ranks in the family. Mondale appeared to skim over them.) Gary Hart said that he wasn't content that Jackson's constituents had moved to the front of the bus; he wanted them to own the bus company. But the real audience for Hart were younger, more educated voters who could be inspired by a vision of America as "not the arsenal of the world, but the university of the world."

Mondale's emphasis, if he can get black cooperation, is designed to win the major Eastern and Midwestern states, although the battle will be very tough. But he also needs some other states, like Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi or Texas. In addition to black positions in the party and on the Mondale campaign, Jackson is likely to want, especially in exchange for his help, more slating of and support for black candidates in the South. (Lance and Jackson reportedly work together smoothly.) But registration will be the key.

With the recent election of state officials like Hightower and Gov. Mark White in a coalition of union members, blacks, Hispanics and some small farmers, Texas appears more promising. There is organization and continued registration.

But on the other side there is lots of money and support for Reagan. "It's going to be tough," said state party chairman Bob Slagle. "Mondale needs to spell out his programs and exactly how he's going to pay for them." Attacks on the deficit and high interest rates and support for the freeze should also help in Texas, he said.

At first Billie Carr was worried that "a New Yorker with a vowel at the end of her name" would not go over well in Texas, but now she is convinced that Ferraro will attract women, even Republican women.

State Rep. Rene O. Oliveira thought Ferraro would reach Hart supporters: "They were looking for change, new direction, new ideas. Ferraro gives people that same hope. The problem will be winning over the independents for Mondale. The problem is Mondale, not the issues. We've got a good chance, but it's Ferraro that will help get out the vote. With Hispanics, you've still got the machismo factor. So I would suggest that we turn off beating the feminist drum too loud in Texas—and I am a feminist, I believe in the ERA."

Hightower agrees that Ferraro will be an asset in Texas, where a number of women hold office and "the primary workers in the party are women. As we say, the rooster crows, but the hen delivers."

Judging from his recent statements and performance, Mondale seems most concerned about stopping the drift from Democratic ranks of blue-collar ethnics in the North and whites in the South. Blacks and Hispanics fear, with some reason, that he is taking them for granted. After a primary season watching young people flock away from him, Mondale has appropriated a Hartian emphasis on "the future."

It is probably wise. Economic statistics for the rest of the year may not permit the strategy of throwing back Reagan's question "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" But freeze backer Rep. Edward Markey believes Mondale will try to force the question, "Are you safer now that you were four years ago?"

Looking ahead, Reagan may seem more frightening: a new recession, war in Central America, nuke-rattling with the Soviets. Caddell argues that the decline of inflation under Reagan has ironically made it possible for people to think about longer-term, less selfish issues.

But even the short-term future may raise anxiety about Reagan. "The thing we have to do is get our members thinking of what it will be like the day after election," said Dick Greenwood, aide to Machinist President William Winpisinger.

But what does Mondale have to say about the future? Other than resorting to hoary dreams of opportunity, he gives little sense of direction and command over the pending economic crisis. Just as the American dream talk is intended to paper over real divisions among potential Democratic constituents—such as race, region, economic sector, generation and class—it is also intended to convey the hope for a revived economy of the recent past.

There is little substance to unify the fragments, except opposition to Reagan. But though there may not be enough substance to allow Mondale to govern well, there may nevertheless be enough to win in November.

Ferraro

Continued from page 7

Some black women carried signs protesting, but most joined the celebration on the convention floor. Said one Virginia delegate who didn't join the protest: "I still don't think this has been resolved."

But though Jackson's planks did poorly they got more than three times the number of votes as he had delegates, and most of those other supporters were women. Despite the discord there was unprecedented cooperation between at least the leadership of the organized women's movement and the Jackson camp.

Mondale's selection of Ferraro opens the door to this constituency and its far-reaching common goals. She is not the most liberal choice—in Congress Schroeder and Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) are significantly to her left albeit more because of the issues they vocally promote than their voting records. Many people call Ferraro "one of the boys," and not all of them mean it as a compliment. Yet she is consistently more liberal than her Queens constituency and has been a staunch advocate for an important group within it—lower-to-middle-class working women.

Ferraro's place on the ticket gives the Democrats an opportunity to speak directly to the women who are the key gen-

der gap voters. She talks convincingly about their economic problems, recalling her own mother's struggles as a single parent working in New York's low-paying garment industry. And she backs up the rhetoric with support for crucial economic equity legislation, including a somewhat redistributive budget last year.

Yet the same Geraldine Ferraro chaired the platform committee that turned out a document more conservative than any the party has run on in decades. "I'm pained about the platform. I think we sold out," said Schroeder.

The danger is that the vice-presidential candidate the country will more frequently see is Ferraro the loyal platform chair, not Ferraro the champion of women and the poor. In her convention appearances, she was loyal running mate, sounding the campaign themes of family, patriotism and "playing by the rules." She walked off the Women's Caucus podium Tuesday into a crush of Secret Service men and a hovering Mondale advisor, who immediately complimented her on her defense of the platform and began coaching her on her next appearance. The scene was typical, yet somehow disappointing.

"I think she has to be careful to speak to the issues of women, and not to think her very presence on the ticket brings them forth," Smeal observed. "People want to hear that there is going to be a different perspective. I don't know how she'll do that, but she's a strong character."

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THE

KENNEDY AT WAR

The Kennedys: An American Drama
By Peter Collier and David Horowitz
Summit Books, \$20.95

By John B. Judis

Intent on wringing maximum profits from so potentially arid a field as political history, the publishing industry has created genres (intimate histories, family sagas) to blend voting records with Gothic romance. But the Kennedy family has itself combined soap opera and high politics, and the Kennedys exercise a fascination that cannot be reduced to the causes they are identified with.

Peter Collier and David Horowitz's family portrait, subtitled "An American Drama," is a thoroughly gripping story that sheds considerable light on the political history that the Kennedys contributed to.

Like Joan and Clay Blair's *The Search for JFK* and Richard Whalen's *The Founding Father*, Collier and Horowitz's book benefited from the principal Kennedys' opposition to their project. The Kennedys told Collier and Horowitz that they had already committed themselves to assisting biographer Doris Kearns, who (lo and behold) is married to Richard Goodwin, a former Kennedy aide and acolyte.

In its revelations, Collier and Horowitz's book does not compare with the Blairs' *Search*, which detailed John Kennedy's womanizing (including his wartime affair with a suspected Nazi agent), his history of Addison's disease (which nearly killed him twice) and the real, considerably less heroic story of PT-109, Kennedy's PT boat that was rammed by a Japanese destroyer. Collier and Horowitz's most important new sources are JFK friend LeMoyne Bilings, whose revelations deepen but do not alter the existing record, and the current Kennedy children, in whose testimony Collier and Horowitz appear to place too much faith.

But no one has grasped the relation between the Kennedy generations—particularly between Joe and Rose Kennedy and their children—as vividly as Collier and Horowitz. From Collier and Horowitz's perspective, there are two sides to the relationship between Joe Kennedy and his four sons, Joe Jr., John, Robert and Edward. One side is consummately American. The Kennedys epitomize ethnic upward mobility. The grandson of a penniless immigrant, Joe Kennedy, nurtured on Horatio Alger and Irish resentments toward the haughty Boston Brahmin class, graduated from Harvard and by the early '30s became one of the richest men in America (estimated worth, \$400 million). But frustrated by Franklin Roosevelt in his quest for the final achievement, the presidency, Joe Kennedy raised his sons to achieve what he had failed to.

He imbued them with his own obsessive ambitions, which brooked no obstacles, a fierce competitiveness not only with outsiders but among themselves, and a clannish loyalty to family in general and the first-born male in particular. When Joe Jr. died in 1945 trying to outdo his brother Jack's war record, Joe Sr. turned to Jack as the instrument of his ambition. Jack rewarded him, defeating Henry Cabot Lodge in the 1952 Senate race and

becoming president in 1960.

Following the Blairs, Collier and Horowitz document the degree to which Joe Kennedy made Jack's future, from his promotion of Jack's senior thesis, *While England Slept* (rewritten by Joe's friend Arthur Krock) to Jack's first congressional race in 1946, in which a wan, sickly young man, buoyed by largely fictitious tales of his wartime heroism, became the projection of his father's political machine.

But Collier and Horowitz also bring out the degree to which both Jack and Robert became more than puppets on their father's stage. Joe Jr. was like Sonny in *The Godfather*—brash, brave, impetuous, headstrong, a gang leader. Jack grew up in his shadow, trying to emulate his success at athletics and his popularity but invariably hampered by his germinating illness. As they reached college age, the competition between them became unrestrained, with Joe Jr. even stealing Jack's dates to prove his superior attractiveness to women.

But, as Collier and Horowitz note, Jack adopted a posture of self-conscious irony and playfulness in the face of his brother's brutal challenge. They write of Jack, "In a sense he became a secret agent in the family, one who paid lip service to the bruising activism that organized the rest of them but saw things from a more self-aware and ironic point of view."

A reluctant convert to a political career (he had thought of becoming a journalist or academic), he soon made his political differences with his father clear. He became an ardent Cold War internationalist and interventionist, although his father had been and was still a diehard isolationist.

He abandoned his father's style of Irish machine politics and became the first "cool" politician of the television age. He chose a Kansas Protestant, Theodore Sorenson, as his closest advisor and speechwriter. Although he followed his father's lead in philandering, Collier and Horowitz suggest that by the time of his death he was becoming reconciled to the responsibilities of father and husband.

Even more than Jack, Robert departed from Joe Kennedy's example. Where Jack displayed an ironic detachment, the younger Bobby, often given short shrift in family plans, was fiercely moral. As Jack's right-hand man (Collier and Horowitz make a case that Jack's presidency was in fact a "co-presidency"), he could be utterly ruthless in trying to defeat political enemies. But left to his own devices, before Jack's presidency and then after his assassination, Robert's quest for justice surfaced, whether in his relentless pursuit of Jimmy Hoffa or in his admiration of Cesar Chavez.

While Bobby's intensity recalled his father's, his values were antithetical to Joe's. He was a devoted family man. (He could never admire Martin Luther King because of what he knew of King's womanizing from FBI wiretaps.) His obsession with Hoffa, a man whose rise to the top recalled his father's, seemed oedipal. And his political legacy was as different from his brother's as his brother's had been different from his father's.

If Jack was the apotheosis of Cold War liberalism, Robert was the first and best candidate of the '60s New

Left of Vietnam war protesters, civil rights marchers and striking farm workers. When they went to the grave, both Jack and Robert seemed to take these political tendencies—in Robert's case, movements—with them.

But according to Collier and Horowitz, the Kennedy family history is Sophoclean as well as Alger-like: Joe Kennedy's sins against the gods were finally visited upon his children and their children. This theme lends drama and pathos to the early deaths of Joe Jr., who would never have risked his life had he not felt the need of the Kennedy first-born to best his brothers, and the oldest Kennedy sister, Kathleen ("Kick"), who insisted upon flying in hazardous weather to meet her father, whom she hoped to reconcile to her marriage to a divorced Protestant. But to the extent that Collier and Horowitz's Sophoclean motif becomes analysis rather than literary embellishments, it greatly oversimplifies the Kennedy history.

After Robert's death, the Kennedy clan, which had been headquartered in Hyannis and in Robert and Ethel's Hickory Hill, began to come apart. Jacqueline Kennedy married Aristotle Onassis and took her children to live in Europe.

Several of the Lawford, Shriver and Kennedy children became drug addicts. Both the Lawford and Ted Kennedy marriages fell apart. And Ted, returning from an annual party with his brother's campaign workers (a ritual that he participated in out of loyalty and good nature rather than libertinism) abandoned Mary Jo Kopechne near Dike Bridge.

Besides the shock of assassination, Collier and Horowitz attribute the family decline to the Sophoclean legacy of Joe Kennedy and, in the case of Robert and David Kennedy, to Ethel Kennedy's indifference toward her children. Collier and Horowitz quote with approval Chris Shriver's reaction to Robert Jr.'s 1983 arrest for heroin possession: "If you think of it as one movement from grandfather's early days to what has happened to Bobby right now, you realize that the Kennedy story is really about karma, about people who broke the rules and were ultimately broken by them."

But Joe hardly seems a primary cause of David and Robert's downfall. While his legacy did create unrealistic expectations in the children (both Robert Jr. and Joseph III were raised to believe that they might be president), many children can reconcile themselves to achieving less than their parents or grandparents hoped—indeed, most of the Kennedy siblings, including Joe III, seem to have succeeded in doing so. What marked Robert Jr. and David was their vulnerability to their father's assassination, which occurred when they were in their mid and early teens, and the prevailing counter-culture that encouraged experimentation with drugs.

Ethel Kennedy's indifference to her children's plight may have also precipitated their decline, but Collier and Horowitz fail to demonstrate this point conclusively. Their portrait of Ethel is particularly biased. They don't explore her own complex grief but only its effects, as interpreted by her resentful and troubled sons. Particularly damaging statements made by Ethel are credited to the Kennedy sons or their friends.

d high politics:



For instance, Collier and Horowitz report that after Robert's death, "Ethel kept saying to Bobby Junior and David, 'Get out of here!' as if the house itself, with all the pictures of family triumphs, were a sanctuary they defiled by their presence." They attribute this quotation to a friend of David and Robert Jr. who presumably heard it from them.

But when a mother says "Get out of here!" to her children, it can mean many things, depending on the exact circumstances and the way parents and children normally talk to each other. Children, including teenagers, are capable of the most astonishing misinterpretations and literalisms. Collier and Horowitz may be correct in blaming Ethel for her sons' misfortunes, but not simply on the basis of her sons' interpretations of her words and actions.

With their portraits of the Kennedy children, Collier and Horowitz seem to have suffered from the novelty of firsthand Kennedy reports and from writing their closing section in the shadow of David's suicide.

Character has always played an unusually important role in understanding American politics. Without programmatic parties and a parliamentary system, American voters elect their officials—and especially their presidents—on the basis of their assumed character as much as on their political principles and promises. Both the late Nelson Rockefeller, whose presidential chances were destroyed by divorce, and Ted Kennedy have had to learn this lesson the hard way.

Actual rather than merely perceived character is important in determining the actions of the presidency—a position that in its independence and secure tenure allows a chief executive much greater latitude than parliamentary leaders enjoy. The presidency tests whether a politician can transcend the parochial assumptions by which he had functioned as a governor or senator, and whether he can shoulder the immense responsibility suddenly thrust upon him.

But biographers can overdo the role of character in determining an official's choices. Seymour Hersh's brilliant but methodologically one-sided portrait of Henry Kissinger largely ignores the well-developed world view, acquired primarily in the '50s, with which Kissinger entered office and which played as important a role in his actions as his opportunism or his wish to appear tougher than his rivals. Robert Caro seems destined to make the same mistake in his portrait of Lyndon Johnson.

Collier and Horowitz's approach to the Kennedys is more flexible, but in their portraits of Joe Sr., Jack and Robert, they tend to slight the importance of underlying religious and political principles. For instance, they say of Jack's intentions as president that "his psychological agenda was always clear: to put a thumbprint on history, and, as he frankly (if somewhat ironically) admitted to Lem and others, to achieve 'greatness.'"

Collier and Horowitz argue that this agenda shaped his approach to presidential decisions:

His approach was not so much to be equal to the problems he inherited—an inchoate mix ranging from economic stagnation to a growing civil rights movement—as it was to locate crises equal to the historical self he

wanted to acquire. His intention to enlarge the stakes facing the country and his presidency was apparent in the State of the Union message he delivered a week after taking office: "Before my term has ended we shall have to test whether a nation organized as our own can endure.... Each day the crises multiply. Each day the solution becomes more difficult. Each day we draw nearer to the hour of maximum danger..."

This is an impressive analysis of Kennedy's presidency, but it attributes too much importance to his psychological quest for greatness, even to the extent of insinuating that Kennedy exaggerated the problems he inherited in order to put his thumbprint on history. One could also argue, citing Kennedy's awakening to the fires of Third World nationalism in his 1951 trip around the world, that he understood far better than his predecessor that what appeared to be a "problem"—the growth of anti-American and anti-imperialist liberation movements—was in fact a "crisis."

Kennedy's principal contribution as president, for better or worse, was the way he dramatized choices that the U.S. faced at the beginning of its imperial decline. And he did so not merely out of an urge for greatness, but out of a conviction derived from travel and from consultation with academics like Walter Rostow, whom Kennedy called his "Marx." Rostow gave Kennedy a rationale for trying to fashion a democratic "third force" in Southeast Asia and Latin America that could contend with both the dictatorial right and the Communist left.

Without clearly intending to, Collier and Horowitz reinforce the liberal revisionists who have contended that *hubris*, vain masculinity and a deluded search for greatness led the Kennedys to make a stand in the rice paddies of Vietnam. To their credit, Collier and Horowitz detail Kennedy's long involvement with Vietnam and the Catholic Diem (which extended back to the early '50s) and his commitment to remain in Vietnam until a victory against the Communists could be secured.

The most important remaining Kennedy is Ted, the head of the family and the hoped-for head of state. Of all the Kennedys, Ted is the most haunted by ghosts. But Collier and Horowitz give him little credit for learning to live with them. The authors' portrait of him is curiously callous and negative. They even call him by the diminutive "Teddy"—a name that he heartily dislikes and that no one says to his face.

Collier and Horowitz seem to want to show Ted's career in the worst light. They show only the effects on him of his brothers' deaths—culminating in Chappaquiddick—without probing the depth of his grief. Even their sketchy portrayal of Chappaquiddick omits details—the party Kennedy was attending was not a gang-bang but an annual event given to thank secretaries who had worked *gratis* for his brother Robert's 1968 campaign—that might have cast Ted in a better light.

Collier and Horowitz also show Kennedy's subsequent political career in a dim light. They say that unlike Robert, Ted was moved by a "legislative agenda" rather than a "moral imperative." But Kennedy's legislative agenda has been "moral"—the defense of the poor and

of human rights—rather than procedural or programmatic. His most important efforts, like his campaign for national health insurance, have never stood a chance of passage.

Kennedy's later career recalls that of Ohio Senator Robert Taft, whom Jack included in his *Profiles in Courage*. Taft held high the banner of Midwest conservatism and isolationism during their heyday of New Deal liberalism and globalism in the same way that Ted Kennedy has held high the tattered ensign of '60s-era liberalism during the storms of Reaganite conservatism. His career also recalls that of his father after his break with Roosevelt.

Ted's 1980 campaign for the presidency flopped in part because of the memory of Chappaquiddick and his initial failure to define the purpose of his campaign, but also in part because Kennedy was caught between the moral and political legacy he and Robert had created and the more conservative temper of the late '70s and early '80s. It should now be obvious that even if Kennedy had defeated Carter in the primaries, he would have fared worse than Carter in the general election.

Collier and Horowitz's portrait of Ted, like their portrait of Ethel and her sons, suffers from their Sophoclean pretensions. Because they are so intent on showing the family's decline, they understate Ted's achievements.

With the exception of their portraits of Ethel and Ted, Collier and Horowitz are remarkably judicious in their appraisal of the Kennedys. At times, they even go overboard in their effort not to villify Jack. For instance, against a fairly strong case in Herbert Parmet's *Jack*, among other places, they give Jack the benefit of the doubt on the question of whether he or Ted Sorenson wrote the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Profiles in Courage*.

The authors' strategy of steering between expose and panegyric is the correct one. Most of us have already had many of our illusions about the Kennedys punctured. What we need to understand is why we held those illusions in the first place and why, to some extent, we still do. By describing the drama of the Kennedy family's rise and decline, Collier and Horowitz have located the place they occupy in our fantasy lives. If Abraham Lincoln's log cabin saga embodied the American dream of the late 19th and early 20th century, the Kennedys' rise from East Boston's Paddyville to the White House has provided the stuff of dreams for post-World War II Americans.

But while the authors explain the basis of the dream, they also insist that it is over. They see in the fall of Ethel's children (the most successful of them, Joe III, appears unlikely to match his forebearer's rise to power) and in Ted Kennedy's unsuccessful presidential bid in 1980 the proof that the Kennedys have become *passe*.

Why do some people hang onto the hope of a Kennedy presidency? Probably because the miracle of a Kennedy revival would be the only way in this dark period that their political views, represented by Robert and now Ted, could return to favor. It is a hope based not on any presumed identification of Americans with Ted Kennedy's liberalism, but on the resurrection of the old Kennedy magic.

Collier and Horowitz put these hopes in perspective and, therefore, to rest. It is about time.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

SQUEALS OF INDIGNATION

EVIDENTLY TO TOM JOHNSON (*ITT*, June 27) the injustice and hideousness in the meat-packing industry consists exclusively in the workers' inadequate pay and miserable working conditions that proceed from the growing concentration of ownership. Nothing else.

Certainly the squeals of indignation these evils elicit from him are commendable, but missing from his report is any acknowledgement, not even an implicit one (as far as I could tell), that the hundreds of thousands of "food" animals slaughtered every day in this country experience physical and emotional pain that is not ethically insignificant, and that indeed may even bear comparison to the hardships their killers try to endure. (It is worth mentioning that pigs have an intelligence similar to that of dogs, and probably much higher than that of many human beings, including our president. But this is not really relevant; suffering is relevant.)

Johnson does give a circumstantial account of the grisly events on the killing floor, the killing rack and the line—and even concedes that on the rack "the lucky ones are out cold." But it is all too plain that to him the catarracts of blood, bucketloads of viscera and cries of pain and terror constitute not a daily exhibition of humankind's needless and self-debasing maltreatment of "lower" animals—institutionalized savagery that doubtless is intimately related to the human species' wanton butcherings of its own kind—but simply uncomfortable working conditions. Cute phrases like "bacon-to-be" and "the brute figures" (a subhead) enhance the article's crass anthropocentrism.

Many bleeding-heart types have been daring to suggest that animals have, or should have, rights, including the right not to be tortured and chopped to pieces so that the uninformed or uncaring masses can devour steaks and hot

dogs from which they may very possibly contract, perhaps as a form of divine retribution, cancer and heart disease, to say nothing of the social disgrace of being fat slob. If the decent society that socialists envision retains the meat-packing plants in the present one, the conclusion that human callousness and cruelty have little to do with the social system in which they occur would be difficult to avoid.

—Robert Becker
Baltimore, Md.

GULP!

AS I READ THE ARTICLE "CONTINENTAL: Just tip of the iceberg" by David Moberg (*ITT*, May 30), I envisioned a group of vampires sucking the blood out of a living body. Between gulps they cried out "The body is dying! Somebody do something about it!"

—Al Cohen
Amherst, Mass.

MISLEADING

BARBARA EHRENREICH'S ARTICLE *B*on American feminism and the gender gap (*ITT*, June 13) is somewhat misleading in its comparison between the U.S. and Europe. She argues that "nowhere except in the U.S., as far as I can discover, have women actually moved to the left of men." As a result, she sees the American gender gap as "historically unique" and in contrast with the "reverse gender gap" of some European countries where women have traditionally voted more conservatively.

There are two reasons for this relative left position of American women's vote. One is that, given the very conservative nature of current American politics, any liberal stand appears to be left by comparison. The more progressive or liberal nature of European politics generates less of a need for the gender gap to appear.

On the other hand, what is really unique in the American case is the extent to which the feminist message has

penetrated grassroots organizations and all aspects of American life. This has not yet happened in most European countries. Yet European feminism, as feminism in the Third World, tends to be more left and clearly socialist than its more liberal American counterpart. It is likely that, as the feminist message also penetrates European societies, the reverse gender gap will disappear.

—Lourdes Benaria
New York City

MISREPRESENTATION

IN JO FREEMAN'S OTHERWISE FINE ARTICLE about my campaign (*ITT*, June 13), I was quoted as saying that "socialist feminism is a contradiction in terms." Regardless of where this statement came from, it is a serious misrepresentation of my point of view.

Clearly, many of the goals of feminism and socialism are harmonious. There are certainly feminists who are socialists and socialists who are feminists. The Socialist Party now even calls itself the Socialist Feminist Party.

The terms that are contradictory are not feminism and socialism but radical feminism and classical socialism. Radical feminism posits that the oppression of women—patriarchy—is at the root of the inequities and pathologies of global society. Classical socialism posits that inequity in resource distribution and control—class discrimination—is at the root of the world's major problems. Obviously, not all feminists subscribe to patriarchal theory any more than all socialists subscribe rigidly to class analysis.

Though these terms are essentially contradictory, those adhering to them can, and do, work together toward common goals on other levels. As a radical feminist, I do not feel compromised by working in appropriate ways with socialists. I stress that I am not a socialist, not because I undervalue socialist contribution, but because I want to be very clear about who I am and the viewpoint I most fundamentally represent.

—Sonia Johnson
Citizens Party presidential candidate

EARLY AND FERVENT

SONIA JOHNSON IS QUOTED AS SAYING that "socialist feminism is a contradiction in terms" (*ITT*, June 13). On the contrary, socialism is the highest expression of the ideas of liberation and equality of all peoples—women and men; black, brown, red, yellow and white.

This pronouncement shows an unfortunate deep ignorance of history and politics. Socialists were among the earliest and most fervent supporters of women's rights. The democratic socialist nations are years ahead of the U.S. in the areas of affirmative action for women and basic institutional support services for reproductive rights. The Communist nations, particularly China, have liberated women from centuries of bondage and servitude. Obviously much more needs to be done to achieve full equality and liberation. But to state that socialism has not been on the side of feminism is ludicrous.

If it was only an uninformed opinion it would be forgivable—but it is much more than that. It is another indication that Johnson belongs to that school of "feminism" that I call "sexist feminism." This seems an oxymoron—but politics is filled with such contradictions in terms. Johnson has stated that the problem of war is "males' conquistador mentality." This is false! War is caused by exploitative social systems such as capitalism, and by the racist and sexist ideas present in all peoples. She holds that women are naturally superior to men by virtue of their gender—that women are inherently "good" and peace-loving, and that men are inherently "bad" and warmongering.

This simple-minded approach is inherently sexist and right-wing. It often happens that progressive causes attract

people and ideas which are, in reality, quite opposite of the goals of equality. Sexist feminism has nothing in common with genuine feminism and democratic socialism, which call for the freedom and equality of all people.

—Donald F. Busky
Local chairperson, Socialist Party
of Greater Philadelphia

NO OBLIGATION

THE ARTICLE BY ADAM HOCHSCHILD (*ITT*, May 23) on the merits of criticizing Third World revolutionaries avoids some relevant facts. It doesn't say which North American leftists are guilty of romanticizing the revolutions. We do not see any "rosy-glowism" in *In These Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Nation* or *NACLA*. Our experience is that one is often challenged to demonstrate objectivity by criticizing the Nicaraguan revolution even when discussing the altogether separate issue of U.S. intervention in the region. It is Hochschild who lays down his idea of what others should say, despite the insinuation that he is reacting to an attitude comparable to Stalinism.

Of course it is legitimate to discuss the faults and failures of revolutionaries. But for what are the North Americans responsible? Obviously for the actions of the U.S. government and its clients. North Americans have an obligation to criticize their own government. They have no such obligation with respect to its designated enemies.

What are the likely results of our public criticism? Hochschild believes that it will increase the credibility of the anti-intervention movement. With whom? At this time the U.S. government is launching terror attacks against Nicaragua and preparing for war throughout Central America. These actions and the suffering of the Central American people are the credible issues for the anti-intervention movement.

—Deborah L. Sisson
—Dale P. Barkey
Berkeley, Calif.

JUVENILE DISORDER

ONCE AGAIN, LENNI BRENNER HAS demonstrated his love affair with stupidity (*Letters*, *ITT*, June 13). Maybe someday, one of his articles will address a relevant issue!

In my letter to *ITT*, I discussed the fact that Brenner's term "democratic secular Palestine" was so vague that it lacked meaning to intelligent individuals. In response, he listed certain atrocities committed by the Israeli government. Granted, the facts cited and that the situation in Israel needs much improvement, what has any of this to do with explaining his definition of a "democratic secular Palestine"?

Once again, Brenner resorts to the juvenile use of racism to illustrate his point. But, instead of attacking orthodox rabbis with racial slurs, he has the audacity to attack me, and call me, of all things, a racist!

In my letter, I called for a democratic secular Israel and Palestine cooperating and at peace.

I am a Jew and proud of it. Jews have a right to cultural self-determination as much as Palestinians or any other people, if they choose.

Let's try a two-state solution to the problem to start, and see where it leads. But, I can assure you of this: if these two states ever evolve into one democratic secular state, monsters like Lenni Brenner will be unwelcome. Their stupidity breeds too much hostility.

—Steven Karpp
Flushing, N.Y.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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STF1

By Dan Charles

HAVING COME OUT IN opposition to deployment of Pershing II cruise missiles, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) has embarked on a search for an alternative defense strategy. At the party's May 17-21 convention, the SPD passed a resolution critical of NATO's present strategy and commissioned a working group to draw up detailed recommendations on what a Social Democratic defense posture should look like.

While the SPD has not completely overcome its credibility gap with the West German left and peace movement, the work that is being done within the party represents the most intensive effort on the continent to develop an alternative to continued military confrontation and competition in central Europe.

The questions now under discussion are even more far-reaching in their consequences than missile deployment and may put the German Social Democrats on a collision course with the NATO establishment in a few years.

The days when SPD officials could co-sponsor a newspaper advertisement about a peace march in Bonn that asked rhetorically whether anyone was demonstrating in Moscow are gone. Erhard Eppler, whose spectacular clashes with Schmidt over defense policy made him the most prominent dissident within the party, became almost an integrating figure of the center at the most recent convention, pleading with other leftists to support the compromise resolution supported by the party leadership in the interests of unity and credibility.

The resolution itself, adopted after extended debate, reaffirmed West Germany's position as a member of NATO, but called for West Germany's national interests, resulting from its peculiar geographic and political situation, to be more fully taken into account within the alliance. The resolution listed the following criteria for NATO strategy: it should be clearly defensive in its force structure and armaments; nuclear weapons should return to the role of strategic instruments of deterrence; nuclear and conventional weapon should be strictly distinguishable from each other; conventional "stability" (as opposed to numerical parity) between Warsaw Pact and NATO should be established; and NATO's area of responsibility must not be expanded to other parts of the world.

In addition, the convention approved a catalog of concrete steps in the direction of establishing a "security partnership" in Europe between East and West. These ranged from initiatives in the NATO-Warsaw Pact negotiations over troop strength in Vienna and the Stockholm confidence-building measures conference to call for removal of all chemical weapons from Germany, a gradual removal of short-range battlefield nuclear weapons and a comprehensive nuclear freeze.

But sharp disagreements broke out over the possibilities of replacing nuclear with conventional weapons. As part of the move away from battlefield nuclear weapons, the original version of the resolution supported the idea of replacing them with modern conventional weapons. This immediately raised suspicions among SPD leftists that the door was being opened for a conventional buildup, providing backhanded support for the ideas of conservative defense planners who have always wanted more conventional forces.

In a tumultuous late-night meeting of the party commission responsible for drafting the resolution, the left-wing succeeded by a thin majority in pushing through a statement that nuclear withdrawals could be accompanied by force restructuring, but not through conventional force expansion. Conventional arms and strategies that might be offensive and destabilizing were explicitly rejected.

On this point, the SPD's position veers sharply from that of the Western political-military establishment. It challenges

the weapons-happy and nuclear confrontationist Reagan administration, and the Social Democratic stand cannot be reconciled with the schemes of such groups as the European Security Study, a group composed largely of figures from the liberal American establishment and conservative Europeans, to "strengthen conventional deterrence" and lessen NATO's dependence on nuclear weapons through deployment of new high-tech conventional weapons—an approach endorsed by Walter Mondale.

The background of this new "conventional wisdom" is complex as well as ironic. The U.S., fearing escalation of a European conflict to the level of a strategic U.S.-USSR nuclear exchange, has periodically tried to shift NATO strategy in the direction of greater reliance on conventional forces.

When the Kennedy administration abandoned the doctrine of massive retaliation in the early '60s, West German defense officials were pressured into accepting the McNamara doctrine of flexible response, which took into account the possibility that a European war could remain limited and conventional. As the luster of America's nuclear guarantee continues to fade, the time is ripe for additional moves to conventionalize European defense.

Meanwhile, officials from the Pentagon's research and development branch are promoting new conventional arms technologies, and Gen. Bernard Rogers has made the alleged capability of these weapons to strike Warsaw Pact forces

PERSPECTIVES

German SPD seeks defense rapport

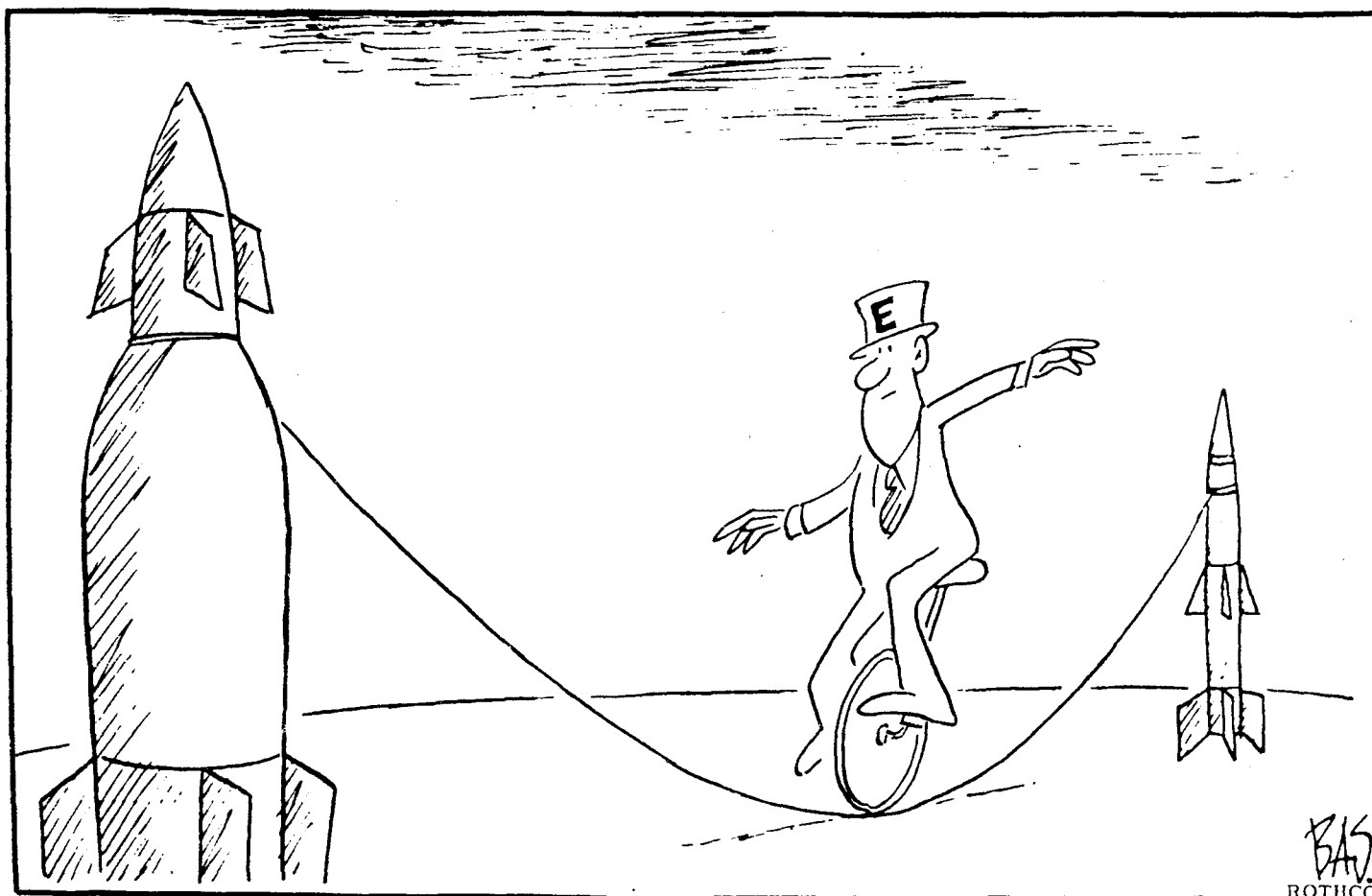
the bounds set for it in the government's fiscal planning. Additional increases in Dutch military spending are equally out of the question.

European military services are not enthusiastic about the high technology of "Deep Strike" weapons the Pentagon and American arms manufacturers are promoting, in part because they see it as an American export scam and because they doubt the equipment would work. Secret studies of the capabilities of three "emerging technologies" by the West German defense ministry reportedly indicate that plans to attack moving targets deep in Warsaw Pact territory are next to useless because of the operational and technical difficulties associated with them.

But there are more fundamental reasons for opposing the new conventional weapons. The main characteristic of the weapons Gen. Rogers wants to deploy in Europe is increased range and accuracy.

range of Warsaw Pact fixed targets throughout Eastern Europe, including airfields, communication and control facilities, and transport centers, within minutes of an attack. A parallel development can be expected on the part of the Warsaw Pact and may have already started with the recent forward deployment of Soviet short and medium-range missiles capable of launching both nuclear and conventional warheads. As this trend continues, more and more targets will become immediately vulnerable on both sides, and the incentives to launch first, in order not to be the one unable to launch at all, grow correspondingly.

The implications of this development for stability in a crisis are obvious and ominous. And because both sides must suspect that theater nuclear forces may also be the target of such a convention attack, the "use them or lose them" dilemma, with its scenario of nuclear escalation, becomes ever more important.



deep in their own territory the centerpiece of his campaign to "raise the nuclear threshold" through deployment of additional NATO forces.

The irony is that these groups, which have favored conventional force increases, now believe that the peace movement in Western Europe has helped create a political climate in which their goals may be achieved. As attention has been drawn to the suicidal results of nuclear weapons use in Western Europe, the argument that additional conventional arms would make the use of nuclear weapons less likely has become politically more powerful.

Dead-end.

But the proposals to beef up conventional forces with new generation technologies actually are a classic dead-end street. For one thing, the budget situations of most European governments preclude any major new military procurement programs in the next few years. Britain's conservative government plans to freeze defense spending after 1986, just when the purchase of Trident submarines begins to take huge chunks of the budget, so other accounts will actually have to be cut. Germany's defense minister has approved so many other projects that it is not even clear that the defense budget will stay in

At least two kinds of missiles are being suggested: one, a ballistic missile with a range of some 300 kilometers, is already in development, with its accompanying "smart" submunitions. The other would be a longer-range missile (600 km or more) designed to destroy fixed targets such as airfields. The technology for this missile is readily available, but the decision to produce it has not yet been made.

A full-scale deployment of such weapons would drastically increase the NATO forces' ability to destroy a wide

The nuclear threshold, far from being raised, may actually be lowered by this kind of conventional modernization.

For the Social Democrats and the peace movement, however, the decisive argument against a conventional buildup is political. Not only would such an arms buildup make a farce of the negotiations over conventional forces in Vienna and the conference on confidence-building measure in Stockholm, but it would continue the futile pursuit of security through technical and military means, ignoring and undermining the gains in security achieved through East-West exchange and cooperation during the era of *Ostpolitik* and detente.

The most celebrated word in the SPD's foreign policy lexicon at the moment is *Sicherheitspartnerschaft*, security partnership, which serves as a code word for the further development of detente to include practical steps in the military area. Security achieved through military means is, as Erhard Eppler has stated, a deadly utopia. Real security can only be achieved through reduction of the military confrontation, not through efforts to win the arms race.

Dan Charles is research associate for European affairs at the Federation of American Scientists in Washington.

The party wants to develop an alternative to continued military confrontation and competition in Central Europe.



Having fun is a political act at masculinity conference

By Jo Freeman

Guests at the Sheraton Washington Hotel didn't seem prepared for the few hundred casually, sometimes colorfully dressed men (and some women) who talked, danced, hugged and kissed for four days in early July at the ninth Men and Masculinity Conference.

During registration a long line of Amway dealers and their families waiting to attend a formal dinner kept staring at them and the signs advertising the conference as though they thought the animals had been let out of the zoo. After looking them over, one of the Amwayers grabbed his wife and began vigorously kissing her while engaging in bumping and grinding motions. "They thought we were gay," conference organizer Tim McGaughey said. "Some of their kids trashed a couple of our signs and screamed 'queer' up and down the hall."

"This is not an uncommon reaction to men who question the

meaning of masculinity, because it implies we aren't masculine and therefore have to be gay," McGaughey explained. Psychologist Barbara Wallston elaborated, "When a man embraces feminism, many interpret that to mean he is also embracing femininity, which our society assumes only gay men do. Homophobia makes it difficult for men to declare themselves feminists to the outside world."

According to organizers, participants in the national conference are only one-fourth to one-half gay or bisexual, though no one has done a survey. As one workshop leader expressed it, "Here sexuality is problematic." What they have in common is a rejection of the cultural norms about the appropriate behavior, attitudes and goals for men. Ron Smith, an organizer who has attended all the other conferences, said that some come looking for personal growth, some to heal wounds from difficult relationships, some to share experiences from organizing local men's

groups, some to create a political network, some to engage in academic analysis and most just to play.

"It's summer camp," McGaughey said, "with a political backdrop." Bob Brannon, professor of psychology at Brooklyn College, added, "For this group, playfulness and having fun is a political act."

From NOM to NOCM.

Educational psychology students at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville organized the first national conference in 1975, although local conferences had preceded it. Entitled "A Playshop," it was a cross between consciousness-raising to extend feminist gender-role analysis to men and a supportive encounter group. Although participants made no attempt to create a national organization of feminist men and not all were feminists, one result was a network of people interested in this possibility. Another was a newsletter that died a couple of years later but,

along with the conferences, fostered communication while it lasted. After several years of debate over the form and content of a formal organization, and whether there should be one at all, the National Organization for Men (NOM) was created in 1981.

One of the first things it had to do was to change its name. "NOM" had already been incorporated in New York by a *Penthouse* "men's rights" columnist who was the only active member. This NOM opposed women's rights, and, Brannon wrote later, "These sleazos had just gotten more publicity with one phony announcement than we had ever been able to get for a genuine and important social movement of American men." The name was changed last spring after a poll disclosed that National Organization for Changing Men was favored two to one over National Organization of Men Against Sexism.

The new name inevitably raises the question of what kind of changes in men NOCM is trying

to foster. That is not a topic on which there is an articulated consensus. Asked the proverbial question, "What do men want?" NOCM members pause, as though somewhat startled, before listing such things as emotional flexibility, integration of one's personal and career lives, equal rights with women, parenting privileges, participation in family planning, custody and abortion decisions, paternity leave, living more loving lives, creating more personal options and a sex-role revolution for men as well as women.

Participants responded more comfortably with abstractions than with a concrete program. "Humanization is what men want," stated Tom Mosmiller, an organizer at a men's center in California. "Men need to have an emotional language so they can deal with their feelings."

An early leaflet said that men want "to help ourselves and other men unlearn the 'macho training' that has led to so many of men's problems." Author Mark Gerzon, in his lecture on "Masculinity, Foreign Policy and Survival," said that traditionally "men could be intimate only in situations, such as war and football, which reaffirmed their masculinity." He called for an "end of soldiering as an arbiter of who's a man and who's not."

Joe Pleck, associate director of the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, said that the "men's movement," as participants like to call their activities, is "pro-feminist," gay affirmative and pro-male." When asked to explain what "pro-male" means, he said, "Supporting men to change. Men don't want to feel shitty about themselves."

"The special thing about the men's movement," according to Brannon, "is that it's dedicated to attempting to fuse the ideas of removing discrimination and oppression of women, eradicating homophobia, analyzing sex roles and healing the psychological sex-role wounds of the average heterosexual man."

Pleck analyzes patriarchy as "a dual system...in which men oppress women, and in which men oppress themselves and each other.... Men's liberation means freeing men from the patriarchal sexual dynamics they now experience with each other."

The misogynist faction.

Not all participants in the "men's movement" consider themselves feminists, though the percentage of activists who don't is decreasing. One vocal faction at past conferences has argued that "the basic causes of rape are the manipulation, the dangling and teasing of sex by women, the unavailability of sex for men, and the chauvinist attitude that women

"Men want humanization. ...Men need to have an emotional language so they can deal with their feelings."

are morally superior to men." The author of that leaflet toned down the one he passed out at this conference. Its most anti-woman statement was that women should "come down off their pedestal of moral superiority and become aware of the violence they do to men (more often psychological, emotional and verbal) which men usually respond to with physical violence." He advocated, as "affirmative action toward equality," that there be an "all-female military draft and registration and draft for the next several generations." The lack of support for the few adherents of this view was clear when a couple of them attacked Citizens Party presidential candidate Sonia Johnson, who addressed the conference.

Johnson's speech on the "Implications of a Feminist Perspective in Politics" was well received, but it was not well attended. Despite word-of-mouth publicity that she was an excellent speaker, only 80 people came, and only four (two of them women) went to the workshop on the campaign run by her running mate, Dick Walton. Although NOCM organizers have a political orientation, most people are drawn to the conferences in order to engage in personal exploration.

This split between the personal and political, and attempts to resolve it, has marked the "men's movement" since the beginning. However, "The leadership has been ineffective in bridging the gap," said Ron Smith. At past conferences the tension between those who came for personal growth and those who wanted political discussion and action was palpable. This conference reduced that tension considerably by running on two parallel tracks, with something for everyone, from "radical faeries" and "nice Jewish boys" to task group organizers, usually at the same time.

"The men's movement has modeled itself on the women's movement consciously or subconsciously, but it hasn't always learned from it," Smith continued. "It adopted the slogan 'the personal is political,' but it has not truly politicized the personal, probably because men, even those here, know what they have to lose and aren't too sure what they have to gain. Many men come to these conferences to try out new behaviors in a supportive environment."

The "men's movement" has also paralleled some sectors of feminism in its "organophobia," as Sam Julty, author and DJ, has labeled it. This fear of organization inhibited the formation of a national organization for many years because those who wanted one felt they needed the approval of those who didn't. Nic Tamborriello, a therapist in Ann Arbor, Mich., explained the reluctance to organize as a "fear of recreating the same masculinized forms of efficiency and power as we were struggling against. Because we wanted to create new ways of being together and had no role models, we took rejection to the extreme."

Although NOCM claims only 555 members (who pay \$25 a year) it has an 18-member council, 20 task groups and 20 administrative committees. There is no headquarters or identifiable head of the organization. Instead it has a mailing address at Box 93, Charleston, Ill., a three-person, geographically balanced "chairpersons committee," all selected by the council, and a 12-person "spokesperson committee," all volunteers.

The men at the conferences are mostly white, middle-aged and middle-class. Occupationally they are concentrated in the service professions, with many psychologists (six on the council), academics, ministers and social workers. There is a scattering of minority men, blue-collar workers and army officers, but many more authors and workers in counter-cultural institutions such as bookstores and social service centers. The influence of the '60s is evident in their politics, their dress and their unspoken assumptions.

The number of men seeking to change themselves in an organized fashion is not large, but, according to Alan Gross, a psychology professor at the University of Maryland, the ramifications are. "The men in these groups are doing the experimental work necessary to create models for personal and social change and the theoretical work necessary to give men reasons for giving up the privileges of patriarchy. Their existence may not signal a major social revolution among men, but when the time for such a revolution comes, the foundation the men's movement is laying will facilitate it."

The real activities of the "men's movement" are in regional conferences and a few dozen men's centers and local organizations. The Center for Men's Health Education in Oakland, Calif., has a grant to counsel men to take responsibility in birth control, abortion and fatherhood. Other men's groups work with the husbands of battered women.

Tom Mosmiller, who works at the Oakland Center, says the biggest problem is outreach. "Men have trouble asking for help, so we have to appeal to their self-interest." Sometimes that self-interest involves getting their wives to return home. Mosmiller said that about half of all battered women at the California centers want to return home but make that conditional on their husband's joining a men's counseling group. Even though this is a form of coercion, Mosmiller feels most of those who begin counseling this way, stay. "Being called a batterer makes them feel guilty. Changing their behavior makes them feel good." However, cautioned Tamborriello, "the hardest thing is to keep from invalidating their experience. Men feel if they make changes in their masculinity, the only option is femininity, and this is equated with vulnerability."

In front of the gaping eyes of several photographers and reporters, conference participants made themselves vulnerable at their closing ritual in the Cotillion Ballroom. Arms around each other's backs, many wearing T-shirts that proclaimed, "Goodbye John Wayne," they formed a large, swaying circle. Pieces of multicolored yarn were passed out. Then they paired off to tie ends of their strands together. Back in the circle, the other ends of the yarn were tied until it, too, was a large circle. Several men gathered it and symbolically presented it to the organizers of next year's conference in St. Louis. The recipients held the mass of colored yarn aloft in the center of the room as though it were a torch, while those in the circle slowly wound around them, singing, chanting and swaying until the mass finally broke into individuals hugging and kissing goodbye.

Jo Freeman is a Washington, D.C., attorney.

Men's music: softly pushing for change

By Michael S. Kimmel

Pop star Billy Joel exhorts his friends to "Tell Her About It," to share their feelings, to open up and become vulnerable. New waver Joe Jackson confesses that in these confusing times, we "don't know how to treat a lady/ don't know how to be a man." Gutsy rock'n'roller Graham Parker exposes men's double standards, chiding them for "Thrashing out blindly/ way way out of touch." And Michael Jackson, the elfin androgyne whose *Thriller* has sold more than 40 million copies worldwide—and is the most successful LP of all time—counsels against physical violence, warning, "Don't be a macho man," in his hot single, "Beat It."

What's going on here? Hasn't rock music always been the domain of "real men," spinning out merrily misogynist lyrics to accompany their blatantly sexual rhythms? Hasn't frenetically strumming those low-slung electric guitars stood for a certain kind of post-adolescent sexuality? And don't male pop stars aim their lyrics at women, enticing them to fall in love, telling them to get lost or bemoaning their own rejection?

Certainly the musical mainstream remains resolutely sexist. The Rolling Stones still derive their ominously sexual R&B

The Willie Sordill Group

ways for men to relate to one another and to women. Like the diverse collection of feminist performers and composers who have been inspiring the feminist community for more than 10 years, men's music speaks of male experience as open to emotion and softly pushes for change.

In many ways, men's music resembles women's music in its early days and springs from similar sources. One source is the anti-sexist men's movement, a loose network of organizations that oppose violence against women and pornography and support reproductive rights. Another kind of men's music derives from the gay movement. Finally, a few artists have realized that a left politics requires dismantling traditional sex roles.

Most of the purveyors of men's music are members of the National Organization for Changing Men (NOCM), a coalition of straights and gays who support feminism and gay rights. Their song lyrics are frequently published in *M.*, a five-year-old magazine whose slogan is "gentle men for gender justice." They perform at organizing conferences, coffeehouses and NOCM's annual conferences.

Like women's music, men's-movement songs reinterpret childhood, adolescence and maturation. The music also suffers from some of the problems that beset women's music. Often it is

emotion. Compare some of the gutsier rock, pop and soul performers, like Graham Parker and Joe Jackson, who deliver their lyrics with intensity.

Mixing a social perspective and art may be difficult because of the content of the ideology and the backgrounds of the artists. All but one are white. Most are from relatively affluent backgrounds and are more adept at self-control than self-revelation. The ideological basis of the men's movement—to become "gentle men"—further smothers its potential for expressing moral outrage.

The best introduction to this music is *Walls to Roses: Songs of Changing Men*, assembled and produced by Cambridge-based folkie Willie Sordill. This recording is not merely the product of anguished and guilt-ridden liberals bemoaning their fate as oppressors. Geof Morgan's "The Matador" and Sordill's "For My Men Friends" explore the costs and benefits of traditional definitions of masculinity, and Fred Small surprises the listener with "Are You Karen Silkwood?" which fuses the concerns of gender with those of nuclear madness. Charlie Murphy's "Gay Spirit" and Chris Tanner's "Sensitive Little Boy" show a politicized gay sensibility and are also two of the record's stronger musical compositions.

Major men's music performers include Peter Alsop, Gary



from sinister sexism combined with a driving rock sound. Heavy-metal bands reinforce macho hedonism for working-class white teenagers, even if the bands' dress suits a high-tech gay leather bar better than an auto body shop. Newer musical trends—punk, reggae, new wave, rockabilly—often bring men no closer to an egalitarian sexual ethic than their forebears did.

Yet there are signs of change. Definitions of masculinity are everywhere in flux, and the range of acceptable roles for men is expanding dramatically. A number of performers are responding by playing music that suggests new

boring and bland, only a vehicle for the message. You have to listen so carefully to the words that you can't possibly dance.

There is a sneaky irony here: as the music urges men to shed preoccupation with control, the musical package maintains that control, keeping them stuck in their seats. Of course, sound itself can prove vital and liberating. Jazz, for example, never needed lyrics to explode the vapid asexuality of some big band music and "put the sin in synco-pation."

The most serious problem of the genre is that its exhortations are frequently delivered without

Lapow, Romanovsky and Philips, and Willie Sordill.

Some of these performers have released solo records, and a few have recently released second albums. Some are produced on independent labels. A few are available only on cassette. Recently a few major labels have picked up men's music performers. Good Fairy Productions (Box 12188, Broadway Station, Seattle, WA 98102), a gay cultural collective, has a mail-order distribution service for men's music and serves as a clearinghouse for tour and booking information. ■ Michael S. Kimmel teaches sociology at Rutgers University.

The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism

Edited by Margaret Jacob and James Jacob
George Allen & Unwin, 333 pp., \$35

By Edward Countryman

The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism is the result of a conference of historians that met in New York City in November 1980. It bears the marks of its origin. Papers are addressed to "this conference" and followed by "commentaries" of the sort that professional historians give during their tribal rites. The collection is uneven, both in the orientation and in the quality of the essays.

But though written for the advanced student, the anthology has been published under the auspices of the Institute for Research in History, a group of non-academic historians with a strong feminist and political orientation. The copy on the dust jacket draws a direct tie between the book's subject and modern-day "socialists...civil rights ac-

that it justifies those answers.

Several authors in the anthology realize that their central concept, radicalism, is slippery. Different essays use it to describe pirates in the Caribbean, obscure intellectuals, women prophets of the English civil war, the Declaration of Rights of 1688, Baptists and Methodists in 18th-century Virginia, high thinkers from Locke to Jefferson and militant artisans in London and Philadelphia. For some of the authors, "radicalism" comes perilously close to meaning anything that happened during these two cen-

century regime found its way from London coffee houses to the pages of colonial newspapers. The crowds that rioted against the Stamp Act in 1765 and the landing of taxed tea in 1773 in Boston and New York had their counterparts in London and Bristol. Anglo-American public culture was a single fabric.

Yet on three separate occasions revolution tore that fabric to shreds. Of those the least interesting, the furthest removed from our time and concerns is 1688, when James II was de-throned, William and Mary were

and the era of American independence.

Much of the credit for the recovery of the radicalism of the English Revolution is due to the Oxford Marxist historian Christopher Hill. In a "keynote" address in this volume, Hill asks what happened to that radicalism after its defeat in 1660, when the Stuarts returned to the throne. He finds one answer among pirates, who carried the traditions of the Commonwealth with them as they fled to the Caribbean and Madagascar. But whatever its social and ideological content, piracy was a historical dead end. Some of the most exciting recent work on revolutionary America has shown, however, that traditions inherited from the England of the 1640s burst forth again in the 1760s and the 1770s. Several essays in this volume address that point.

Three separate strands of continuing radicalism emerged from revolutionary England. One ran from Hobbes, Harrington and Locke to Jefferson, Madison, Adams and Hamilton. A second, expressing itself in religious terms, comprehended extreme Protestantism both in 17th-century England (the Family of Love, women prophets, the Muggletonians) and 18th-century America (evangelicals challenging Virginia planters, awakened "New Lights" disrupting Northern churches and carrying their struggle into politics). The third linked the discontents of artisans and small farmers confronting an increasingly capitalist world. All three standards are discussed in this book.

There was a time when only the first seemed important. That the leaders of the American Revolution spoke a political language originally shaped in England has long been obvious. In the hands of such historians as J.G.A. Pocock (author of another "keynote" address), Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood, that language has taken on a rich and sometimes ironic complexity. Pocock, in particular, has shown how it became the means for the literate elite to understand and deal with the emergent capitalist world in England and America.

But elites by themselves do not make revolutions. Hill's great contribution to the study of 17th-century England was to reconstruct an upheaval, both ideological and political, that took place from below. Several of the authors in the anthology follow the lead that he has long been giving.

Alfred Young, in particular, probes the ties between English and American plebian culture. Young takes four "popular" episodes from colonial and revolutionary America and shows how the people taking part in each borrowed from and adapted and transformed English traditions and customs.

In one example he shows how New Englanders kept the image of Oliver Cromwell alive through the long century of repression that followed the Stuart restoration. The dissolution of British rule gave them the chance to bring their memories of all that Cromwell symbolized into the open, and they did so enthusiastically. To a New Hampshire farmer or a

Boston artisan, then, "Oliver" carried the same symbolic weight that "Malcolm" or "Martin" would to a black today.

As Rhys Isaac notes in his essay on Virginia evangelicals, however, "radicalism" and "revolutionism" are not the same thing. It has become increasingly clear that one of the main sources of sustained revolutionary militance in the America of the 1760s and the 1770s lay among urban artisans. Five of the 19 essays in the book speak to that point. Collectively, they make mincemeat of any notion that Anglo-Americans all lived in a world of competition, acquisition and individualism.

Gary Nash and Steven Ross-wurm, in particular, address the relationship between resistance to unbridled capitalism and popular revolution. Both focus on Philadelphia, and their artisans speak the same language and undertake the same actions as the English counterparts described by Robert Malcomson.

But it was in America, not in England, that artisans (and angry farmers, and evangelicals, and dissident intellectuals, and some women and blacks) entered a revolutionary moment in the late 18th century. The cutting of the British tie was only part of what happened in 1776. Popular committees took power. They expressed simultaneously the drive of ordinary people for direct political involvement and their insistence that relationships in the marketplace were matters for public determination, collective-

What are the origins of Anglo-American 'radicalism'?

ly made, not for private choice, individually taken. Pennsylvania's ultra-democratic constitution of 1776 and the "corporate" political economy that surrounded it marked the most serious attempt, but not the only one, to make direct involvement and community control permanent.

But such a state of affairs did not persist, for in 19th-century America laissez-faire liberalism would triumph. Joyce Appleby's discussion of "the radical *double-entendre* in the right to self-government" addresses that development, stressing the intense, market-oriented individualism that permeated the thought of Jefferson.

But Jefferson was not America. If the Revolution found in him or in James Madison its equivalent of John Locke, it found in Philadelphia artisans and Massachusetts farmers and Virginia Methodists its equivalent of Christopher Hill's militant Englishmen and Englishwomen. What made the 1640s and 1770s revolutionary was the insistence of these ordinary people on their right to involvement and their attempts to realize their visions of different, better ways to order their lives.

Our world is far removed from that of the Philadelphia Committee of Militia Privates, let alone from that of the New Model Army. But both the questions such people raised and the hopes they expressed remain alive.

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HISTORY

About 1776 and all that

INPRINT



Crowds that demonstrated against the Stamp Act in 1765 inherited their radical traditions from England.

tivists, feminists, environmentalists, peace campaigners, libertarians" and dissident intellectuals. Can this broad claim stand? Even if it cannot, is there anything for politically committed dwellers in the world of late capitalism to learn from the transformations that shook England three centuries ago and America two?

The answer to the first question is "to some extent." The answer to the second is "yes." For the non-professional but historically conscious reader, the interest of this book lies in the ways

turies of upheaval. But others examine the notion more carefully, with stimulating results.

The experience of revolution runs through the 17th and 18th century Anglo-American world. The social energies and tensions that gave rise to English colonization were the same as those that tore the English world apart in the 1640s.

The "glorious" revolution of 1688 established a political and ideological settlement for British America as well as for Britain. The rhetoric of opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's corrupt 18th-

century regime found its way from London coffee houses to the pages of colonial newspapers. The crowds that rioted against the Stamp Act in 1765 and the landing of taxed tea in 1773 in Boston and New York had their counterparts in London and Bristol. Anglo-American public culture was a single fabric.

Those changes established the political framework within which merchant and eventually industrial capitalism flowered in Britain. They established a bastion of personal rights against the state that commands respect as much now as then. Even so, the Glorious Revolution was an elite movement, without the popular involvement, the upheaval and the transformation of both the English Civil War and Commonwealth of the 1640s and 1650s

By Daniel Lazare

The story goes that at a bankers' meeting in Switzerland a few years back, Walter Wriston, Citibank's chief executive, strode over to Brazil's Minister of Planning Antonio Delfim Netto, draped an arm around his shoulder and confided how "proud we all are" at that Delfim had accomplished.

It was one of those wildly inappropriate, wonderfully ironic remarks that deserve to be memorialized in stone. Delfim's chief "accomplishment," as the next few years would make distressingly clear, had been to crush his newly industrializing country under a mountainous \$93-billion foreign debt. For a few heady years, the heavy borrowings left Brazil awash in cash, and businessmen, landowners, the military government and ambitious technocrats like Delfim were riding high. Wriston, too, was soaring on the backs of those loans. His bank was expanding vigorously, profits were strong and his fellow "Eurobankers" were hailing him as the great trailblazer who had opened up the dazzling new world of international lending.

In 1982, however, the international debt bubble burst. The party was over and the guests stumbled into the cold, gray dawn to take stock and sober up. After three years of recession, plunging commodity prices and tight credit policies by the U.S. Federal Reserve, Brazil had to admit that it was broke and unable to meet its debt payments.

Delfim was thoroughly discredited and became, virtually overnight, one of the most unpopular men in the country. Wriston suffered too, although not as severely. His banking empire was exposed as shaky, but despite a 25-percent drop in the price of its stock, for the moment it remains intact. The press still treats him with respect, although his fellow bankers now deride him as a false prophet who led them into the wilderness without the slightest idea how to get them out. Harold Lever, who served as financial secretary under Harold Wilson's Labour government, may sneer at him as "a kind of Peter Pan [who] still believes in fairies" for insisting that a Third World default was impossible, but the message has not yet penetrated through to the general public.

Nevertheless, the debt crisis now continues to accelerate toward the edge of the abyss. Hunger rioters surge through Rio de Janeiro, grabbing sacks of beans and sugar and cursing the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for imposing economic austerity—and bank shares drop another notch on the New York Stock Exchange. Sixty people die in anti-IMF riots in the Dominican Republic—and panicky financial managers in Europe and Japan begin withdrawing billions of dollars a day from Continental Illinois on rumors that it is going under. Argentina skirts perilously close to default—and Manufacturers Hanover, the largest holder of Argentine debt, is hit by a run as well.

The financial crisis, previously confined to the Third World periphery, is currently descending on the industrial center, sending legions of pin-striped bankers running for cover.

Where will it all end? As Darrell Delamaide warns in *Debt*

Shock, his vivid, angry account of the unfolding of an economic debacle, there is no easy solution to the international debt crisis. There is no magical way of smoothing over the painful fact that much of the Third World's debt, now estimated at more than \$700 billion, is simply uncollectable.

"Either a new high inflation will reduce the value of the debts to a fraction of the original," he writes, "or there will be a confrontation that will end with 40 or 50 or 60 percent of the debts being written off." Such a confrontation, he adds, "will change the world monetary system."

Debt storm.

It could actually do much more—it might very well destroy it. Like thermonuclear war, the prospect of a widespread Third World default is almost too awesome to contemplate. We know that the nine largest U.S. banks have made loans to Latin America equal to twice their shareholders' equity, and that a generalized debt storm could therefore wipe them out in a flash. The dollar would probably then plummet, essentially bankrupting the U.S. Treasury, causing inflation and interest rates to shoot up, and perhaps triggering a world economic convulsion on the scale of 1929-33.

Indeed, the likelihood of a major blow-up is such that few financial writers can resist trying their hand at disaster scenarios. Paul Erdman, the *Wall Street Journal*, and even this reporter (*In These Times*, Jan. 19, 1983) have all given a shot at describing how capitalism as we know it might come to an end. Delamaide weighs in with his own imaginary account in which Mexico successfully maneuvers Argentina, Brazil and even Yugoslavia into reneging on their loans (\$248 billion in all), resulting in chaos on the international currency exchanges and the collapse of the dollar, the closing of the New York stock market after a sickening free-fall of 100 points in two hours and a classic crisis of confidence in which the banks are besieged by depositors demanding their money before the institutions go under.

Of course, readers are excused if they remain skeptical that such a catastrophe will ever come to pass. After all, in the last dozen years or so, they have been bombarded with so many doomsday scenarios—involving everything from erosion of the world's topsoil and depletion of the atmosphere's ozone layer to the unleashing of some kind of super bacterial plague by a crazed genetic engineer—that they can't be blamed if they withhold judgment on this one as well.

It is Delamaide's thesis, however, that the catastrophe is already unfolding all around us. The upward creep of interest rates, mounting unease over the \$200-billion U.S. federal deficit and the recent coalescence of a Latin American debtors' bloc are all signs that the financial fabric is rapidly unraveling.

Indeed, the process has accelerated in the few months that

WORLD DEBT

Crisis accelerates to edge of the abyss

Debt Shock has been in publication. Since March, the prime rate has advanced from 11 percent to 13, adding to the strain on U.S. banks and deeply angering the Third World whose debt burden increases \$2 billion for every one-point hike. March also saw Argentina's near-default, which sent a shiver of fear through the financial community and laid the basis for the Continental Illinois and Manufacturers Hanover runs a month and a half later.

What is perhaps most remarkable about events in recent months, however, is the way the patchwork of accords assembled by the IMF in the wake of Mexico's August 1982 brush with insolvency are, after a period of quiescence, finally falling apart. And none too soon, since, in the final analysis, the IMF's peace-keeping efforts have amounted to an elaborate con game to trick the Third World into assuming the full burden of the banks' own poor judgment.

IMF-induced austerity is deepening social unrest, which in turn puts more pressure on governments to repudiate their debts. The Fund's emphasis on export earnings often means producing less food for domestic consumption. (Delamaide points out that when the IMF forced economic austerity on Peru in 1979, much of that nation's poor was already subsisting on chicken feed; the problem was less that the feed, known by the brand name Nicovita, was laced with toxic chemicals than there wasn't enough to go around.)

Third World currency devaluations, an essential ingredient in any IMF austerity program, serve mainly to fuel protectionism in the industrial nations, which in the U.S. has resulted in calls to curb copper imports from Chile (foreign debt: \$18.6 billion) and steel from Brazil.

"If they won't let us sell our

steel, we won't pay our debts," remarked one Brazilian trade official a few months back. The warning drew little notice at the time, but the world may soon be forced to pay closer attention.

Meanwhile, the IMF is powerless to do anything about the single most destabilizing factor in financial life today, the U.S. federal deficit, whose effect in pushing up interest rates and strengthening the dollar should be clear to all (even if Treasury Secretary Donald Regan insists on keeping his eyes tightly shut to the issue). Economic reform these days is a

most Third World loans were put together.

Ordinary people think of bankers as stuffy, stingy types who love to say no. The Eurobankers were a different lot, however—high-powered money pushers with vast amounts of petrodollars to play with and the entire Third World to invest in. They were encouraged by the Western governments that had been lulled by a generation of Keynesian economists into believing that recurrent capitalist crises were a thing of the past and the investments therefore risk free. So the banks paid little attention to where the money was going, whether into the hands of Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko (who is said to have promptly recycled \$5 billion into private Swiss bank accounts), Argentine generals or wealthy Mexicans and Venezuelans who frittered away millions in real-estate purchases in Las Vegas and shopping sprees in Miami Beach.

Delamaide writes there is no magical way of soothing over the fact that much of the Third World debt, estimated at more than \$700 billion, is simply uncollectable.

one-way street, with austerity for the Third World and profligacy for the deficit-ridden, arms-building Reagan administration.

Delamaide ably documents the steps leading to the present crisis, whose roots lie in the U.S.'s steady post-war current account deficits that left the world inundated with dollars and ultimately forced Nixon in 1971 to uncouple the currency from the gold standard. Thus the last measure of fiscal discipline was removed. The central bankers' response to the OPEC oil shock of 1973-74, itself a reaction to gathering inflation, was to inflate even more, leaving the world even more awash in excess capital. The consequence was that strange never-never land of unregulated, wildcat banking known as the Euromarket, where

"It was what I call 'receptionist banking,'" recounts one banker quoted by Delamaide. "When you went out to lunch you could have told the receptionist to watch the telex and take \$5 million of any deal offered."

The response to the second OPEC oil shock of 1979-80 was very different. Instead of loosening credit, the Federal Reserve, by now headed by the redoubtable Paul Volker, tightened up. The consequence was increased unemployment, the worst recession since World War II, high interest rates and by 1982 an international debt crisis of unparalleled magnitude. But in breaking the back of both inflation and OPEC, which was forced to slash prices 15 percent in early

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By Louis Menashe

From the days of Sergei Eisenstein to the present, Soviet film directors have had a hard time meshing their artistic impulses with formulas imposed by state and party authorities. One prominent victim of this tension is the director Andrei Tarkovsky, whose defection to the West was announced in Milan July 10. Another unorthodox Soviet filmmaker is Andrei Konchalovsky, like Tarkovsky part of that burst of creative young talent that lit up the Soviet cultural scene during the Khrushchev reform decade of 1953 to 1963.

American audiences may be familiar with Konchalovsky's *Siberiade*, winner of the special jury prize at the 1979 Cannes Film Festival. Unlike Tarkovsky, he continues to enjoy official Soviet favor, although for several years he has spent much of his time in the West.

Konchalovsky is a youthful man in his mid-40s, tall and slender with easy manners, who has a way with English and enjoys "conversating" because, as in his film career, he doesn't know "what he is going to say next." As scriptwriter and director, his films have ranged far in time, place and subject matter—from medieval Russia to 20th-century Kirghizia, from agonized, self-doubting gentry of imperial Russia to adventurous roustabouts prospecting for oil in Soviet Siberia.

If these films are outwardly different, they seem to focus on a few central concerns: moral ambiguity in human affairs, including political relationships; the impact of great historical events—the Tatar invasion of Russia, the Bolshevik revolution, Soviet industrialization—on individual lives and shared community experience; hope contending with adversity and trauma.

Unavoidably, a conversation with Konchalovsky—or any personage of the Soviet cultural world—turns to the question of expression. How does a Soviet film director convey historical or individual complexity without the warps of political and official ideology? A cynic might respond: as porcupines make love—that is, slowly and carefully. In Konchalovsky's case, Soviet *emigres* express another kind of cynicism: he gets away with a great deal of trespassing (e.g. sex in *Siberiade*) because of his well-placed family.

It is true that Konchalovsky grew up in the Soviet cultural es-

tablishment. His grandfather was a Stalin Prize-winning painter. His mother is a successful translator. His father, Sergei Vladimirovich Mikhalkov, is a celebrated children's writer and mogul in the Union of Soviet Writers. Last year, *Pravda* reported that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet had awarded his father the Order of Lenin on his 70th birthday "for great services in the development of Soviet literature and for fruitful public activity."

Konchalovsky is no struggling dissident, and his art requires

the '60s, Stalin and Stalinism come up only allusively. The only political prisoner we see in the film dates from czarist times. There is one remarkable scene in the film—dream? hallucination? allegory?—in a hut on a Siberian marsh, where a poster of the General Secretary is on camera. One could impart a great deal of symbolic meaning to the whole scene and especially the poster, but clearly Konchalovsky did not face the subject of Stalinism with candor.

His explanation is very candid, however. Stalinism is too "sensi-

positive heroes or pure villains. The murderous Spiridon, politically a reactionary, gains sympathy by the end of the film, when he emerges, like his village, broken by historical events out of everyone's control. For Konchalovsky, real art is a domain of concrete human character, and it avoids declarations. Besides, he stresses, audiences should have "the right to decide" their own political/moral judgments. Among his favorite American films is *The Great Santini*, because of the good-bad mixture in the main character and because it suggests "the personal right to be wrong." (Among his other favorites: *Taxi Driver*, *The Godfather* and *Raging Bull*.)

His last confession on Stalin's role and his failure to confront the subject directly also show an open outlook: Konchalovsky is not clear about the meaning of Stalinism and finds it "very difficult to make a real statement" or to "identify what is good and what is bad" about the phenomenon.

(Compare the clever evasion by the brilliant Georgian director, Otar Yoseliani, to the question, could a film be made now about Stalin? "Stalin lived outside the republic," Yoseliani replied with a straight face. "That's why it's hard to produce a film about him in Georgia; the scenery here is different. He lived in Russia.") David K. Shipler reports this in *Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams*.)

Konchalovsky's second independent film, *Asya's Happiness* (1966), did not get official imprimatur. The story of a non-conformist, crippled village girl was judged unacceptably frank and angry, and the film was shelved. For his next two films, Konchalovsky retreated into the Russian classics, Turgenev's *Nest of Gentry* (1969) and Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* (1970), both visually stunning and evoking with great compassion the melancholy of the old Russian gentry-intelligentsia. (It is significant that of all Russia's great 19th-century writers, Turgenev and Chekhov were politically the most open-minded and the most generous in judging human behavior.) The same qualities appear in the work of Konchalovsky's brother, the sparkling actor Nikita Mikhalkov, who directed films based on Goncharov's *Oblomov* and Chekhov's *Unfinished Piece for Player Piano* with an almost loving regard for fatalism and frustration. In fact, some of the best recent Soviet films have been based on those old twilight tales

Nikita Mikhalkov stars with Lyudmilla Gurchenko in *SIBERIADE*.

of superfluous gentry and alienated intellectuals. Is there a natural affinity on the part of Soviet intellectuals, filmmakers included, for these men and women of sorrow sighing over unfulfilled lives? Konchalovsky, for one, doesn't seem unfulfilled. In any case, I suspect he might have dismissed the point, had I pressed him, as an invention of Western attitudes toward the Soviet Union, which he described as "scarecrow images of socialism."

Konchalovsky's moral from his hardship with *Asya's Happiness* is that it didn't prevent him from getting budgeted for other film. He wasn't permanently exiled from filmdom because of one indiscretion. Not so fast, I say: we still can't see *Asya's Happiness* nor the original uncut version of *Andrei Rublev* (1965), the controversial epic co-scripted by Konchalovsky and its director, Andrei Tarkovsky. *Rublev* is a haunting study in despair and hope that chronicles scenes in the life of a 15th-century icon painter and monk who witnesses atrocities in war-ravaged Russia. Its unclear story line, its brutality and realism, not to mention its apparent message of the redemptive power of art and religion, amounted to a head-on challenge to official canons.

Siberiade shares some of *Rublev's* moods and mysteries. Its large epic structure is loosely held together in the same way, with long silences and gloomy sequences, to the point sometimes of incoherence. Tarkovsky closes *Rublev* with a burst of color, a lingering look at the monk's frescoes. Konchalovsky closes *Siberiade* with a burst of truly Hollywood color, a roaring oil gusher that catches fire and threatens lives, livestock and the last outpost of an old Siberian community, its graveyard. West Siberian oil is the redeeming element of Konchalovsky's *Siberiade*, which may explain why his film did not run into trouble and Tarkovsky's did. For its reported \$10 million budget, perhaps a few bows in an official direction were not amiss. Or was there a send-up? Scenes of weighty deliberations of Soviet officials at a petroleum congress in the Kremlin seem so stock that they could have been conceived as camp. Konchalovsky tactfully explains that temperamental differences between the two directors account for the different official responses to the

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ART»ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Balancing act in the dark

large, state-bestowed budgets, not just the paper and pen of a *samizdat* writer. But he is hardly a toady. He has had his share of encounters with the commissars of Soviet culture, despite his family connections. In conversation, he doesn't complain but is refreshingly open about the problems of a Soviet film director and approaches the predicament philosophically. I told Konchalovsky I was a Russian historian with an interest in the career of the pre-revolutionary liberal-monarchist Aleksandr Guchkov and suggested that Guchkov's flamboyant life would be a splendid subject for a Soviet historical film. Konchalovsky laughed. "Perhaps," he said, "but too bad he was a minister in the [anti-Bolshevik] Provisional Government!" Konchalovsky says he won't get "paranoid" about his situation and quotes an Arab proverb: "May Allah give me strength to bear what I cannot change, courage to change what I cannot bear, and wisdom to know the difference."

Take, for example, the subject of Stalinism, something very closely associated with modern Siberia—you might say Stalin specialized in addressing the underpopulation there. In *Siberiade*, which spans 60 years of Russian and Soviet history, from the first decade of the century to

the '60s, Stalin and Stalinism come up only allusively. The only political prisoner we see in the film dates from czarist times. There is one remarkable scene in the film—dream? hallucination? allegory?—in a hut on a Siberian marsh, where a poster of the General Secretary is on camera. One could impart a great deal of symbolic meaning to the whole scene and especially the poster, but clearly Konchalovsky did not face the subject of Stalinism with candor.

His explanation is very candid, however. Stalinism is too "sensi-

By Pat Aufderheide

Euzhan Palcy, a 28-year-old black woman from Martinique, is the latest rising star on the international film circuit. Her *Sugar Cane Alley*, a film about growing up poor and black on a '30s Martinique plantation, now in nationwide release by Orion, created a sensation at the New Directors Series in New York, and it arrived there already laden with honors. The film had taken "Best First Film" in the French Cesars (like the Oscars) and won two awards, including the Silver Lion, at the Venice Film Festival.

But people in Martinique didn't flock to the film because Palcy's a star. When it opened there last year, no one else had seen it yet, and Palcy was only an aspiring home-town filmmaker. Martinicans—and Guadeloupans and Haitians—waited patiently in lines snaked around city blocks to see the film because, for the first time, they were watching their life stories in a real theater. And they were as shocked as they were enthralled by what they saw: not only an image of their own poverty, but of their ability to resist the grinding down of daily life.

The film's story captures the way that a people constricted by the cruelest terms of colonialism can come to a sense of self. It begins with a day in the life of the plantation urchins, whose parents leave them at dawn and return exhausted at dark. Their rambunctious aimlessness is the background against which Jose (Garry Cadenat), soon to be our hero, emerges.

From country to city.

Jose lives with his aged grandmother (Darling Legitimus, one of two professional actors in the film), who wants him to study in order to leave the sugar cane fields forever. The village teacher helps Jose win a scholarship to attend high school in Martinique's capital, Fort-de-France.

Village life, in and out of school, has already taught Jose plenty. He has learned about the shading in race relations through friendship with a mulatto boy, bastard son of the Creole plantation owner. He has learned about exploitation and resistance when the neighbor woman who offers him lunch in exchange for servant's work makes him late for class. He defies both the teacher's punishment and the woman's demands, running away from school to throw rocks at the woman's precious dishes. (One of the film's successes is that it accurately shows the pitiful resources of these people—you can feel their hunger and understand the cost of a single dish in the home economy.)

In Fort-de-France, grandmother drags her old bones from door to door, doing laundry in the rich sector of town, while Jose struggles to fulfill the stern demands of his new professor. His moment of glory seems to come when the professor reads his essay to the class. It's a paean to the life of the poor blacks, drawn in part on the ancient tales of slavery that his village mentor, Medouze (Douta Seck), told him. To his horror, however, the professor accuses him of plagiarism. Violating tradition, Jose simply leaves class—and the professor, with a shock of awareness, changes his mind.

Before she dies, Jose's grandmother sees him on the road to authentic success. Jose will be a black Martinican with a public

voice, a builder of a future that acknowledges its roots.

Jose's story is fiction, but it is also Martinican reality. Palcy wrote the screenplay from the autobiographical novel of Joseph Zobel (who appears in the film as the priest). She also drew from oral histories and monographs, striving for accuracy in minute details. For some parts, though, Palcy didn't need to go far to verify. The incident of plagiarism "was my own experience," she says. "When the teacher told me I had copied, I went home and cried all night. My father tried to tell me it was really a compliment, but I will never forget my shame and outrage." So writing Jose's rebellion scene was an act of vindication for Palcy as well.

The scene was more than proof of Jose's revolt. It also allowed Palcy to show the importance of an alliance built in the '30s between mulattoes and blacks. Mulattoes had held all

with them, "forgetting the authoritarian part of you, getting off your pedestal," she adds. The children took the work as seriously as I did. The littlest one, the five-year-old, would come to me and say gravely that she didn't think she had done her best, and perhaps we should do the scene again."

The children weren't the only ones committed to telling the story. Artists who knew Jose's story in their own lives worked hard to make the film happen. Martinican author Aime Cesaire, a leader in the Negritude movement that turned the cultural tables on the French in the '40s, strongly backed it. Long as active in politics as in aesthetics, Cesaire had been one of those responsible for gaining social welfare benefits for the island, which still has "overseas province" status as part of France. The film won one-third funding from a French government grant for young directors, and Cesaire,

Palcy wanted the film to be shown first in the Antilles: "This story is ours."

of Medouze for the pittance that Palcy could pay.

Films made with French grants are usually shown first in France, then sent to the overseas provinces. But Palcy demanded that *Sugar Cane Alley* be shown first in Martinique and other places in the Antilles, for a simple reason: "This story is ours."

When the film opened, people not only stood in line. They stayed in the theaters for four, five and six showings. They walked in from villages where news of the film had spread by word of mouth. They hobbled in on crutches and were carried from sickbeds by relatives.

"I attended many public screenings incognito," says Palcy, "and it was fascinating. The film seems to have been a physical shock for many people. I would sit next to people whose knees were trembling so hard they couldn't control them. I would

'new invaders,'" Palcy suggests. And besides, whites were, quite simply, relieved. "They had been afraid the film would be much harsher in its portrayal of whites—even a racist film. But I never even wanted to make a film like that."

Not everyone in Martinique supported the film. Palcy recalls standing in a long movie line, watching a ragged black man approach a friend. Asked to join his friend in the line, the impoverished man answered, "Never. I will not pay to watch our misery." Indeed, the poverty shown in the film is shocking—but not finally depressing, precisely because the central character confronts it.

The folks at home.

Releasing the film in the Antilles first was a clever promotional tactic as well as political good sense. The film's distributor, Claude Nedjar, concocted a scheme to give away 50,000 postcards at screenings, asking patrons to mail them to friends in France. (Ever since Martinique sugar planters signed away an assured share of the sugar market to beet growers in France, emigration has been a fact of life on the island.) When the film hit France, a ritual began. Once seated, members of the audience would hold their postcards high, in a kind of transoceanic gesture toward the folks at home.

FILM

Children's hour in Martinique



M'man Tine (Darling Legitimus) talks with Jose (Garry Cadenat) after a hard day's work.

hear laughter, the kind of nervous laughter that sounds like you're trying not to cry."

The film wasn't just history, but living reality for its audience. "Many people experienced this as children. But many more continue to live this way," she says. "The Creoles still own the plantations."

Nonetheless, Creoles never blocked the film. Indeed, they adopted it. Although still atop the local hierarchy, Creoles face a stiff challenge from overseas French investors. "Even if blacks hate whites, and even if whites still control the land, blacks and whites are united in face of the

the professional positions, siding automatically with Creoles until the workers' strikes of the '20s. The professor may worry about plagiarism, but he does not punish the boy for his political insights because he supports them.

If this seems like a lot of freight for a coming-of-age story, Palcy doesn't think so. With three films' experience in working with children (always non-professionals), she thinks she may have found the way to reach adults with socially biting themes. "The child's perspective can awaken an adult's conscience, touch him more than if an adult said or did the same things," she says.

The key to working with children is in sharing the experience

now mayor of Fort-de-France, found municipal funds and helped raise private donations.

Still, the budget was less than a million dollars, hardly adequate to pay for its two big-name actors. But they had other reasons. Darling Legitimus had left her native Martinique as a young girl and became a leading black actress in French films, where she played in 140 movies—always as a black mammy or maid. She cheerfully returned for the chance to play a whole person and ended up winning Best Actress at Venice. Douta Seck, perhaps Africa's leading actor, is also a friend of Cesaire and played Christophe in the film version of *The Tragedy of King Christophe*. He agreed to play the part

The film succeeds internationally with its universal theme of a young boy climbing the ladder of success through education. But the reaction at home suggests that this is no ordinary out-of-the-gutter tale.

"I wanted to make a film that could touch people, move them to struggle for a better life, to come to see themselves as people with dignity," says Palcy. *Sugar Cane Alley* does that by avoiding the didactic and the simplistically political. Palcy's film offers a chance to revise that old Hollywood maxim, "If you want to send a message, call Western Union." If you want to send a message, we might say instead, make good art.

©Pat Aufderheide

Debt

Continued from page 19

1983 and has been on the defensive ever since, Volcker's triumph may end pyrrhically in a general economic collapse.

The only soft spot in Delamaide's book is the political conclusions he draws. He calls for nationalization of credit, which is surprising—certainly surprisingly left-wing coming from the Paris correspondent for *Institutional Investor*, a journal of the financial community. But he becomes suddenly vague in discussing how that nationalization might occur or what shape the new monetary order he believes necessary might take. At the same time, he congratulates the Third World for abandoning the "strident, unrealistic demands of the '60s and '70s," and adds hopefully that "the rest of the world is readier now for serious dialog than ever before."

If Delamaide had delayed publishing his book a few months, his reading of political events might have turned out more accurate. The trend recently has not been toward cooperation and dialog, but conflict and confrontation. If the language emanating out of Third World conferences last year in New Delhi and Buenos Aires was notably restrained, it was undoubtedly because those nations were taken aback by the fury of the unfolding economic crisis.

Last month's conference of Latin debt-

ors in Cartagena, Colombia, on the other hand, suggests that the advantage has turned in the hemispheric tug-of-war between debtors and creditors. The long-awaited debtors' cartel seems to be emerging, propelled forward by rising interest rates and debt-service burdens that are fast becoming intolerable.

The choice for nations like Argentina, Brazil and Mexico is stark: they can default, thereby jamming up the world's economic works thoroughly; or they can resign themselves to turning over a half to two-thirds of their export earnings to foreign banks for years to come. (The First

World will have to resign itself to a flood of low-priced Latin American steel, copper, sugar and basic manufactured goods for an equal period as well.) The first alternative is certainly fraught with danger, but, in the long run, the second is quite plainly impractical.

As another of Delamaide's bankers remarked: "Somehow the conventional wisdom of 200 million sullen South Americans sweating away in the hot sun for the next decade to earn the interest on their debt so Citicorp can raise its dividend twice a year does not square with my image of political reality."

Soviets

Continued from page 20

two films: "Tarkovsky is more impulsive, more nervous, maybe more of an artist than me—I'm more of a philosopher." (Tarkovsky's decision to defect is certainly consistent with this explanation of their differences.)

Besides, Konchalovsky asks, putting the shoe on the other foot, do you think a big film as arty and obscure as *Andrei Rublev* could ever get produced in the U.S.? He has a point. But he is quick to deflate it himself and to situate it in proper comparative perspective. A Soviet *Apocalypse Now* is inconceivable—"In the USSR it would be impossible to show Russian tanks in Afghanistan," he ad-

mits with a trace of a grin. He is skeptical about the idea of pure freedom for the filmmaker, East or West. He sums it up this way: in the USSR, freedom (he uses the word "power") hinges on reaching the masses with the right ideological message. In the U.S. it depends on the ability to make money at the box office.

What does he think of another big-budget U.S. film based on a controversial historical theme, Warren Beatty's *Reds*? Konchalovsky was "amazed" that a major Hollywood production could be mounted on the life of the American radical John Reed, and he called it a "very decent attempt to talk about the roots of socialism in the U.S." But its failures, he pointed out, came not from commercialization but from a "lack of analysis" and from the common Hollywood tendency to erect a wall between the individual in the foreground and history in the background. Character and history should be,

as he put it, "melted" together. When I suggested that *Dr. Zhivago*, a film frequently compared to *Reds*, was more successful in integrating the personal and the historical, Konchalovsky reflected that perhaps David Lean's "literature basis was better" (i.e., Boris Pasternak's novel).

There have been many Soviet and Western co-productions; Tarkovsky's most recent film, for example, was the joint Soviet-Italian *Nostalga*. Konchalovsky, however, set his sights on something never before achieved, not even by Eisenstein, who attempted it unsuccessfully in the 1930s—an American production by a Soviet director. Despite the official cold winds blowing on U.S.-Soviet cultural dialog these days, Konchalovsky's *Maria's Lovers*, produced by Cannon Films and starring Nastassia Kinski and Robert Mitchum, is slated for U.S. showing later this year and will appear at the next Venice Film Festival. Konchalovsky and Hollywood make sense: he thinks big, has a ripe imagination and can be technically flashy. The reaction in Moscow, where cultural authorities seem to venerate the safe and the stodgy, might well determine the shape of Konchalovsky's future.

Louis Menashe teaches Russian history at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and writes regularly on Soviet affairs for In These Times.

CALENDAR

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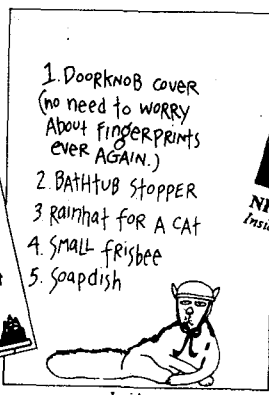
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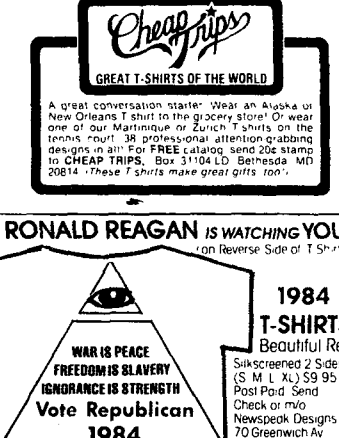
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"We are all in this together"



By James North

Honduran
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TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS

DONA LOLITA HERNANDEZ set down her needle and cloth and straightened up with a flash of anger. "Some of us had been sewing at that enterprise for 20 or 25 years," she burst out. "After the *patron* fired us, we each received 400 *lempiras* (\$200). After 25 years!"

Her friend Mariana de Jesús smiled and broke in, "We went hungry at first, and hunger is a tremendous thing. But then we decided to join together. Now we work for ourselves. Now we have no *patron*."

Mariana and Dona Lolita are two of the 14 experienced garment workers, most of them also middle-aged women, who set up a sewing cooperative here in the Honduran capital two years ago after they lost a bitter labor dispute.

The two women spoke with intensity as they recalled the exact dates and precise details of how the boss locked them out and later fired them when they resisted his efforts to halve their wages.

At first the two were reluctant to be singled out for an interview. "Any one of us can talk about our cooperative," Dona Lolita said firmly, as she gestured toward the other smiling women seated behind their whirring sewing machines in the San Pablo market. "We are all in this together."

The women showed many of their creations, which included children's clothing and blue jeans of high quality. "These are only some of the things we make

here," Dona Lolita emphasized.

The cooperative members earn only about \$15 a week, less than half what they could get at a private enterprise. "But," Dona Lolita summarized, "even though we may continue to eat nothing more than *tortillas* and tomatoes, we are going to succeed. Little by little, we will go forward."

One important asset of the sewing cooperative is an international organization called Pueblo-to-People. The bilingual name (*pueblo* means "people" in Spanish) emphasizes that the organization is building a human bridge between Central America and North America, independent of governments.

Pueblo-to-People is centered in the Honduran capital. Its half-dozen staff members, both North and Central Americans, purchase handicrafts in the region. The four people in the organization's Houston office then sell the products in the U.S., either by mail order or at fairs, concerts and other public events.

The range of handicrafts includes straw hats, hammocks, hardwood bookshelves and other furniture. The San Pablo cooperative sews the canvas backings for mahogany chairs.

Pueblo-to-People replaces the profiteering middlemen who still dominate the Third World handicraft trade. Last year it returned about half of its \$200,000 in sales to the producers, who under more traditional arrangements could have received as little as 10 percent of their creations' retail value.

Pueblo-to-People's founders set even more ambitious goals when they started

the organization five years ago. One of them, a tall, bilingual Texan named Daniel Salcedo, explained, "Much foreign aid amounts to the poor people in rich countries giving to the rich people in poor countries. We want to make sure that our efforts help to get to the grassroots, to strengthen the democratic organizations of poor people."

Marijke Velzeboer, a Dutch anthropologist who also helped start the organization, added, "We don't organize the groups of producers. We look for groups that have already established themselves, ones that have broad social aims."

Besides the San Pablo sewing cooperative, Pueblo-to-People also helps sustain peasant unions in Honduras, organized groups of refugees from El Salvador and independent bands of craftsmen in the highlands of Guatemala.

Pueblo-to-People also uses the sales of crafts to teach North Americans why Central America remains both poor and violent. Each product is accompanied by a leaflet that tells the purchaser about the people who produced it. Each straw hat even includes, inside the band, the name of the person who made it.

The organization's literature emphasizes that one of the reasons for the crisis in Central America is the grotesquely unequal and unfair ownership of the land. A mere 4.4 percent of the landholders own 73 percent of the arable land in the region. The landlords, whether they are foreign agribusiness corporations or local people, tend to grow profitable export crops like bananas, coffee or cotton.

Campesino organizations have spent

decades fighting for enough land to live. The Honduran agrarian reform statutes, relatively liberal on paper, are often undercut in practice by the landowners' delaying tactics, outright bribes and violence. Marcial Caballero, a leader of the Union Nacional de Campesinos (UNC), a movement that works closely with Pueblo-to-People, explained, "The law here is like the web of a spider. It catches the small insects like us. But the landlords, like oxen or cows, brush right past."

The level of violence in Honduras is still far lower than in El Salvador or Guatemala, where tens of thousands of poor people have died in similar circumstances. But Julian Oseguera, another UNC leader, warned, "If a man is cornered he will do anything. If this government continues on the path it is taking, Honduras will follow El Salvador."

UNC President Marcial Caballero concluded, "The land must be in the hands of the campesinos. That way we can solve the problem of unemployment in our country, of people migrating to the cities. We can produce more. We will export more. We will help the country to earn foreign exchange."

"We are not asking for bread or money or anything. We are only asking for the land, so that we can work it. Only that."

Pueblo-to-People is located at 5218 Chenevert, Houston, TX 77004. (713) 523-1197

James North, *In These Times'* former correspondent in South Africa, is on assignment in Central America.